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No. 101.

The Rights of War and Peace.

By HUGO GROTIUS.

THE PROLEGOMENA TO GROTIUS'S WORK, "DE JURE BELLI ET PACIS."

1. The civil law, both that of Rome and that of each nation in particular, has been treated of, with a view either to illustrate it or to present it in a compendious form, by many. But international law,— that which regards the mutual relations of several peoples or rulers of peoples,— whether it proceed from nature or be instituted by divine command or introduced by custom and tacit compact, has been touched on by few, and has been by no one treated as a whole in an orderly manner. And yet that this be done concerns the human race.

2. For rightly did Cicero call that an excellent science which includes the alliances, treaties, and covenants of peoples, kings, and nations, and all the rights of war and peace. And Euripides prefers this science to the knowledge of things human and divine; for he makes Helen address Theonoe thus: —

> 'Twould be a base reproach
> That you, who know th' affairs of gods and men
> Present and future, know not what is just.

3. And such a work is the more necessary on this account,— that there are not wanting persons in our own time, and there have been also in former times persons, who have despised what has been done, in this province of jurisprudence, so far as to hold that no such thing existed except as a mere name. Every one can quote the saying of Euphemius in Thucydides,— that for a king or a city which has an empire to main-

tain nothing is unjust which is useful. And to the same effect is the saying that, for those who have supreme power, the equity is where the strength is; and that other,—that State affairs cannot be carried on without doing some wrong. To this we must add that the controversies which arise between peoples and kings have commonly war for their arbiter. And that war is far from having anything to do with rights is not only the opinion of the vulgar, but even learned and prudent men often let fall expressions which favor such an opinion. It is very usual to put *rights* and *arms* in opposition to each other. And, accordingly, Ennius says:—

They have recourse to arms, and not to rights.

And Horace describes Achilles thus:—

Rights he spurns
As things not made for him, claims all by arms.

And another poet introduces a warrior, who, when he enters on war, says:—

Now, Peace and Law, I bid you both farewell.

Antigonus laughed at a man who, when he was besieging his enemies' cities, brought to him a dissertation on Justice. And Marius said that the din of arms prevented his hearing the laws. Even Pompey, who was so modest that he blushed when he had to speak in public, had the face to say, "Am I who am in arms to think of the laws?"

4. In Christian writers many passages of a like sense occur. Let that one of Tertullian suffice for all: "Deceit, cruelty, injustice, are the proper business of battles." They who hold this opinion will undoubtedly meet our purpose [of establishing the rights of war] with the expressions in Terence:—

You that attempt to fix by certain rules
Things so uncertain may, with like success,
Contrive a way of going mad by reason.

5. But, since our discussion of rights is worthless if there are no rights, it will serve both to recommend our work and to protect it from objections if we refute briefly this very grave error. And, that we may not have to deal with a mob of opponents, let us appoint them an advocate to speak for them. And whom can we select for this office fitter than Carneades,

who had made such wonderful progress in his suspension of opinion, the supreme aim of his academical philosophy, that he could work the machinery of his eloquence for falsehood as easily as for truth? He, then, undertook to argue against justice, and especially the kind of justice of which we here treat; and, in doing so, he found no argument stronger than this: that men had, as utility prompted, established rights, different as their manners differed, and even in the same society often changed with the change of times. But natural law there is none; for all creatures, men and animals alike, are impelled by nature to seek their own gratification, and thus either there is no such thing as justice or, if it exist, it is the height of folly, since it does harm to itself in aiming at the good of others.

6. But what the philosopher here says, and what the poet (Horace) follows,—

> By naked nature ne'er was understood
> What's just and right,—

must by no means be admitted; for man is an animal indeed, but an animal of an excellent kind, differing much more from all other tribes of animals than they differ from one another, which appears by the evidence of many actions peculiar to the human species. And among these properties which are peculiar to man is a desire for society; that is, a desire for a life spent in common with fellow-men, and not merely spent somehow, but spent tranquilly and in a manner corresponding to the character of his intellect. This desire the Stoics called οἰκείωσις, *the domestic instinct* or *feeling of kindred.* And, therefore, the assertion that by nature every animal is impelled only to seek its own advantage or good, if stated so generally as to include man, cannot be conceded.

7. And, indeed, even in other animals as well as in man, their desire of their own individual good is tempered by a regard partly for their offspring, partly for others of their own species, which in them, indeed, we perceive to proceed from some extrinsic intelligent principle,[*] because, with regard to other acts not at all more difficult than those [thus directed toward the offspring and the like], an equal degree of intelligence does not appear. The same is to be said of infants, in

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[*] In his treatise *De Veritate Rel. Christ.*, lib. i. 7, Grotius notices the acts of animals (as ants and bees), which appear to proceed from some extrinsic reason,—*quæ quidem ratio non aliud est quam quod Deus vocatur.*—*Whewell.*

whom, previous to all teaching, we see a certain disposition to do good to others, as is sagaciously remarked by Plutarch; as, for example, compassion breaks out spontaneously at that age. But, inasmuch as a man of full age has the knowledge which enables him to act similarly in similar cases, and along with that a peculiar and admirable appetite for society, and has also language, an instrument of this desire given to him alone of all animals, it is reasonable to assume that he has a faculty of knowing and acting according to general principles; and such tendencies as agree with this faculty do not belong to all animals, but are peculiar attributes of human nature.

8. And this tendency to the conservation of society, which we have now expressed in a rude manner, and which tendency is in agreement with the nature of the human intellect, is the source of *jus*, or natural law, properly so called. To this *jus* belong the rule of abstaining from that which belongs to other persons, and, if we have in our possession anything of another's, the restitution of it, or of any gain which we have made from it; the fulfilling of promises and the reparation of damage done by fault; and the recognition of certain things as meriting punishment among men.

9. From this signification has flowed another, larger sense of *jus*. For, inasmuch as man is superior to other animals, not only in the social impulse of which we have spoken, but in his judgment and power of estimating advantages and disadvantages, and in these, not only present good and ill, but also future good and ill, and what may lead to each, we may understand that it is congruous to human nature to follow, in such matters also [the estimate of future good and ill and of the consequences of actions], a judgment rightly framed, not to be misled by fear or by the temptation of present pleasure nor to be carried away by blind and thoughtless impulse; and that what is plainly repugnant to such judgment is also contrary to *jus*,—that is, to natural human law.

10. And to this exercise of judgment pertains a reasonable and thoughtful assignment, to each individual and each body of men, of the things which peculiarly belong to them, by which exercise of judgment, in some cases, the wiser man is preferred to the less wise; in others, our neighbor to a stranger; in others, a poor man to a rich man, according as the nature of each act and each thing requires. And this some persons have treated as a part of *jus*, properly and strictly so called,

although *jus*, properly so called, is really very different in its nature and has this for its special office,— to leave to another what is his, to give to him what we owe.

11. And what we have said would still have great weight, even if we were to grant what we cannot grant without wickedness,—that there is no God, or that he bestows no regard on human affairs. But, inasmuch as we are assured of the contrary of this, partly by reason, partly by constant tradition, confirmed by many arguments and by miracles attested by all ages, it follows that God, as the Author of our being, to whom we owe ourselves and all that we have, is to be obeyed by us without exception, especially since he has, in many ways, shown himself both supremely good and supremely powerful. Wherefore he is able to bestow upon those who obey him the highest rewards, even eternal ones, as being himself eternal; and he must be supposed to be willing as well as able to do this, and the more so if he have promised such rewards in plain language, which we Christians believe, resting our belief on the indubitable faith of testimonies.

12. And here we are brought to another origin of *jus*, besides that natural source; namely, the free will of God, to which, as our reason irresistibly tells us, we are bound to submit ourselves. But even that natural law of which we have spoken, whether it be that which binds together communities or that looser kind [which enjoins duties], although it do proceed from the internal principles of man, may yet be rightly ascribed to God, because it was by his will that such principles came to exist in us. And, in this sense, Chrysippus and the Stoics said that the origin of *jus*, or natural law, was not to be sought in any other quarter than in Jove himself; and it may be probably conjectured that the Latins took the word *jus* from the name *Jove*.

13. To this we must add that these principles God has made more manifest by the laws which he has given, so that they may be understood by those whose minds have a feebler power of drawing inferences; and he has prohibited the perverse aberrations of our affections, which draw us this way and that contrary to our own interest and the good of others, putting a bridle upon our more vehement passions, controlling and restraining them within due limits.

14. Further, the Sacred History, besides that part which consists in precepts, offers another view which, in no small

degree, excites the social affection of which we have spoken, in that it teaches us that all men are sprung from the same parents. And thus we may rightly say, in this sense also, what Florentinus says in another sense,—that there is a kindred established among us by nature, and, in virtue of this relation, it is wrong for man to intend mischief toward man.

Among men [all are not on the same footing towards us, as for instance] our parents are a sort of gods to us, to whom obedience is due, not infinite indeed, but an obedience of its own proper kind.

15. In the next place, since it is conformable to natural law to observe compacts (for some mode of obliging themselves was necessary among men, and no other natural mode could be imagined), civil rights were derived from this source, mutual compact. For those who had joined any community or put themselves in subjection to any man or men, those either expressly promised, or from the nature of the case must have been understood to promise tacitly, that they would conform to that which either the majority of the community or those to whom the power was assigned should determine.

16. And, therefore, what Carneades said (as above) and what others also have said, as Horace,

> Utility, mother of just and right,

if we are to speak accurately, is not true. For the mother of right—that is, of natural law—is human nature; for this would lead us to desire mutual society, even if it were not required for the supply of other wants. And the mother of civil laws is obligation by mutual compact; and, since mutual compact derives its force from natural law, nature may be said to be the grandmother of civil laws. [The genealogy is human nature, natural law, civil laws.] But natural law [which impels us to society] is *re-enforced* by utility. For the Author of nature ordained that we should, as individuals, be weak, and in need of many things to make life comfortable, in order that we might be the more impelled to cling to society. But utility is the *occasion* of civil laws; for the association or subjection by mutual compact, of which we have just spoken (15), was at the first instituted for the sake of some utility. And, accordingly, they who prescribe laws for others, in doing this, aim, or ought to aim, at some utility to be produced to them for whom they legislate.

17. Further, as the laws of each community regard the utility of that community, so also between different communities, all or most, laws might be established; and it appears that laws have been established which enjoined the utility, not of special communities, but of that great aggregate system of communities. And this is what is called the law of nations, or international law, when we distinguish it from natural law. And this part of law is omitted by Carneades, who divides all law into natural law and the civil laws of special peoples; while yet, inasmuch as he was about to treat of that law which obtains between one people and another (for then follows an oration concerning war and acquisitions by war), he was especially called upon to make mention of law of this kind.

18. And it is without any good reason that Carneades maintains, as we have said (5), that justice is folly. For since, by his own confession, that citizen is not foolish who, in a civil community, obeys the civil law, although, in consequence of such respect for the law, he may lose something which is useful to himself, so, too, that people is not foolish which does not so estimate its own utility as, on account of *that*, to neglect the common laws between people and people. The reason of the thing is the same in both cases. For, as a citizen who violates the civil law for the sake of present utility destroys that institution in which the perpetual utility of himself and his posterity is bound up, so, too, a people which violates the laws of nature and nations beats down the bulwark of its own tranquillity for future time. And, even if no utility were to arise from the observation of law, it would be a point, not of folly, but of wisdom, to which we feel ourselves drawn by nature.

19. And, therefore, neither is that other saying of Horace [1 *Sat.* iii.] universally true,—

> 'Twas fear of wrong that made us make our laws,—

an opinion which one of the interlocutors in Plato's Republic explains in this way,— that laws were introduced from the fear of receiving wrong, and that men are driven to practise justice by a certain compulsion. For that applies to those institutions and laws only which were devised for the more easy maintenance of rights, as when many, individually feeble, fearing to be oppressed by those who were stronger, combined to establish judicial authorities and to uphold them by their common strength, that those whom they could not resist singly they might, united, control. And we may accept in this sense, and in no other, what is also said in Plato,— that right is that which the stronger party likes; namely, that we are to understand that rights do not attain their external end except they have force to back them. Thus Solon did great things, as he himself boasted,—

> By linking force in the same yoke with law.

20. But still rights, even unsupported by force, are not destitute of all effect; for justice, the observance of rights, brings security to the conscience, while injustice inflicts on it tortures and wounds such as Plato describes as assaulting the bosoms of tyrants. The conscience of honest men approves justice, condemns injustice. And, what is the greatest point, injustice has for its enemy, justice, has for its friend, God, who reserves his judgments for another life, yet in such a manner that he often exhibits their power in this life, of which we have many examples in history.

21. The reason why many persons, while they require justice as necessary in private citizens, commit the error of thinking it superfluous in a people or the ruler of a people, is this: in the first place, that in their regard to rights they look at nothing but the utility which arises from rights, which in the case of private citizens is evident, since they are separately too weak to protect themselves; while great States, which seem to embrace within them all that is requisite to support life in comfort, do not appear to have need of that virtue which regards extraneous parties, and is called justice.

22. But, not to repeat what I have already said, that rights are not established for the sake of utility alone, there is no State so strong that it may not, at some time, need the aid of others external to itself either in the way of commerce or in order to repel the force of many foreign nations combined against it. And hence we see that leagues of alliance are sought even by the most powerful peoples and kings, which can have no force according to the principles of those who confine rights within the boundary of the State alone. It is most true [as Cicero says] that everything loses its certainty at once if we give up the belief in rights.

23. If no society whatever can be preserved without the recognition of mutual rights, which Aristotle [rather Plato —

Barbeyrac] proves by the strong instance of a society of robbers, assuredly that society which includes the whole human race, or at any rate the greater part of nations, has need of the recognition of rights, as Cicero saw when he said that some things are so bad that they are not to be done even for the sake of saving our country (*Off.* i. 45). Aristotle speaks with strong condemnation of those who, while they will allow no one to hold rule among themselves except him who has the right to do so, yet in their dealings with strangers have no care of rights or the violation of rights.

24. A little while ago we quoted Pompey for his expression on the other side; yet, on the other hand, when a certain Spartan king had said, "Happy that republic which has for its boundaries the spear and the sword," Pompey corrected him and said, "Happy rather that which has justice for its boundary." And to this effect he might have used the authority of another Spartan king, who gave justice the preference over military courage on this ground,— that courage is to be regulated by justice, but, if all men were just, they would have no need of courage. Courage itself was defined by the Stoics,— virtue exercised in defence of justice. Themistius, in an oration to Valens, eloquently urges that kings, such as the rule of wisdom requires them to be, ought not to care for the single nation only which is committed to them, but for the whole human race. They should be, as he expresses it, not *philo-Macedonian* only, or *philo-Roman*, but *philanthropic*. The name of Minos became hateful to posterity in no other way than this,— that he terminated his equity at the boundaries of his own government.

25. It is so far from being proper to admit, what some choose to say, that in war all rights cease, that war is never to be undertaken except to assert rights, and, when undertaken, is never to be carried on except within the limits of rights and of good faith. Demosthenes well said that war was the mode of dealing with those who could not be kept in order by judicial proceedings. For judicial proceedings are of force against those who feel themselves to be the weaker party; but, against those who make themselves or think themselves equals, war is the proceeding, yet this, too, in order to be justifiable, to be carried on in a no less scrupulous manner than judicial proceedings are.

26. Be it so, then, that, in the conflict of arms, laws must be

silent; but let this be understood of laws civil, judicial, proper to peace, not of those laws which are perpetual and accommodated to all time. For it is excellently said by Dio Prusæensis that between enemies written laws — that is, civil laws — are not in force, but that unwritten laws are; namely, those which nature dictates or the consent of nations institutes. We may learn this from the old formula of the Romans,— "I decide that those things may be sought by a pure and pious war." The same old Romans, as Varro remarked, undertook war tardily, and without allowing themselves any license, because they thought that no war except a pious one ought to be undertaken. Camillus said that wars were to be carried on no less justly than bravely. Africanus said that the Romans began just wars and ended them. Again in Livy we read, "War has its laws no less than peace." And Seneca admires Fabricius as a great man, and, what is most difficult, a man innocent even in war and who thought that there were wrongs even toward an enemy.

27. How great the power of the conscience of justice is the writers of histories everywhere show, often ascribing victory to this cause mainly. Hence have arisen these proverbs,— that it is the cause which makes the soldier brave or base; that he rarely comes safe back who goes out on the bad side; that hope is the ally of the good cause; and others to the same effect. Nor ought any persons to be moved by the occasional success of unjust designs; for it is enough if the equity of the cause has an efficacy, and that a great one, in action, even though this efficacy, as happens in human affairs, is often prevented from taking effect, being counteracted by other causes. And, further, in conciliating friendships, which nations, as well as individuals, need on many accounts, a great effect must be assigned to an opinion that we do not hastily or unjustly undertake war and that we carry it on religiously; for no one readily joins himself to those whom he believes to think lightly of right laws and good faith.

28. I, for the reasons which I have stated, holding it to be most certain that there is among nations a common law of rights which is of force with regard to war and in war, saw many and grave causes why I should write a work on that subject. For I saw prevailing throughout the Christian world a license in making war of which even barbarous nations would have been ashamed, recourse being had to arms for slight

reasons or no reason; and, when arms were once taken up, all reverence for divine and human law was thrown away, just as if men were thenceforth authorized to commit all crimes without restraint.

29. And the sight of these atrocities has led many men, and these, estimable persons, to declare arms forbidden to the Christian whose rule of life mainly consists in love to all men. And to this party sometimes John Ferus and our countryman Erasmus seem to approximate,— men much devoted to peace, both ecclesiastical and civil. But they take this course, as I conceive, with the purpose with which, when things have been twisted one way, we bend them the other, in order to make them straight. But this attempt to drive things too far is often so far from succeeding that it does harm, because the excess which it involves is easily detected, and then detracts from the authority of what is said, even within the limits of truth. We are to provide a remedy for both disorders, both for thinking that nothing is allowable and that everything is.

30. Moreover, having practised jurisprudence in public situations in my country with the best integrity I could give, I would now, as what remains to me, unworthily ejected from that country graced by so many of my labors, promote the same subject, jurisprudence, by the exertion of my private diligence. Many, in preceding times, have designed to invest the subject with the form of an art or science; but no one has done this. Nor can it be done except care be taken in that point which has never yet been properly attended to,— to separate instituted law from natural law. For natural law, as being always the same, can be easily collected into an art, but that which depends upon institution, since it is often changed and is different in different places, is out of the domain of art, as the perceptions of individual things in other cases also is.

31. If, then, those who have devoted themselves to the study of true justice would separately undertake to treat of separate parts of natural and permanent jurisprudence, omitting all which derives its origin from the will of man alone; if one would treat of laws, another of tributes, another of the office of judges, another of the mode of determining the will of parties, another of the evidence of facts,— we might, by collecting all these parts, form a complete body of such jurisprudence.

32. What course *we* think ought to be followed in the exe-

cution of such a task we show by act rather than by words, in this present work, in which is contained by far the noblest part of jurisprudence.

33. For in the First Book (after a preface concerning the origin of rights and laws) we have examined the question whether any war be just. Next, in order to distinguish between public and private war, we have to explain the nature of sovereignty,-- what peoples, what kings, have it entire, what partial, who with a right of alienation, who otherwise; and afterward we have to speak of the duty of subjects to superiors.

34. The Second Book, undertaking to expound all the causes from which war may arise, examines what things are common, what are property, what is the right of persons over persons, what obligation arises from ownership, what is the rule of royal succession, what right is obtained by pact or contract, what is the force and interpretation of treaties, of oaths private and public, what is due for damage done, what is the sacredness of ambassadors, the right of burying the dead, and the nature of punishments.

35. The Third Book has for its subject, in the first place, what is lawful in war; and, when it has drawn a distinction between that which is done with impunity, or may even, in dealing with foreigners, be defended as consistent with rights, and that which is really free from fault, it then descends to the kinds of peace and to conventions in war.

36. The undertaking such a work appeared to me the more worthy of the labor which it must cost, because, as I have said, no one has treated the whole of the argument; and those who have treated parts thereof have so treated them that they have left much to the industry of others. Of the old philosophers nothing is extant of this kind, neither of the Greeks, among whom Aristotle is said to have written a book called the Laws of War,* nor of those (the fathers) who wrote as Christians in the early period of the Church,— which is much to be regretted; and even of the books of the ancient Romans concerning the law recognized by their *Feciales*, or "Heralds' College," we have received nothing but the name. [See *Cic. Off.* i. 11; iii. 29.] Those who have made what they call *Summæ* of Cases of Conscience have introduced chapters, as concerning other things, so concerning war, concerning promises, concerning oaths, concerning reprisals.

* But the true reading is *Δικαιώματα πόλεων* (not πολέμων), *the Laws of States.— Barbeyrac.*

37. I have also seen special books concerning the laws of war, written partly by theologians, as Francis Victoria,* Henry Gorichem,† William Matthæi [Mathison?], Johannes de Carthagena; ‡ some by doctors of law, as Johannes Lupus,§ Francis Arias,‖ Joannes à Lignano,¶ Martinus Laudensis.** But all these have said very little, considering the copiousness of the argument, and said it in such a way that they have mingled and confounded law natural, law divine, law of nations, civil law, and canon law.

38. What was most wanting in all these — namely, illustrations from history — the learned Faber †† has undertaken to supply in some chapters of his *Semestria*, but no further than served his own special purpose and only giving references. The same has been done more largely, and that by applying a multitude of examples to certain maxims laid down, by Balthazar Ayala,‡‡ and still more largely by Albericus Gentilis,§§ whose labor, as I know it may be serviceable to others, and confess it has been to me, so what may be faulty in his style, in his arrangement, in his distinctions of questions, and of the different kinds of law, I leave to the judgment of the reader. I will only say that in the decision of controversies he is often wont to follow either a few examples that are not always to be approved of or else the authority of modern lawyers in opinions given, not a few of which are accommodated to the interest of those that consult them, and not founded upon the nature of equity and justice. The causes for which a war is denominated just or

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* A Spanish Dominican who lived in the sixteenth century. The treatise here mentioned is *De Indis et Jure Belli*, and appears among his twelve theological lectures.

† A Dutchman, so named from the place of his birth, and chancellor of Cologne. He lived about the middle of the fifteenth century, and wrote a treatise *Del Bello Justo*.

‡ His book was printed at Rome in 1609.

§ A native of Segovia. His treatise *De Bello et Bellatoribus* may be found in a large collection called *Tractatus Tractatuum*. Tom. xvi. of the Venice edition, 1584.

‖ A Spaniard. His book is in the same volume of the same collection, under the title *De Bello et ejus Justitia*.

¶ A native of Bologna. His treatise *De Bello* is in the same volume.

** His name was Garat. His treatise *De Bello* appears in the same volume of the collection. It was reprinted at Louvain in 1648, with the treatise of Ayala, spoken of afterward.

†† Peter du Faur of St. Jori, Councillor of the Grand Council, afterward Master of Requests, and at last First President of the Parliament of Thoulouse. He was scholar to Cujas. His work entitled *Semestrium Libri Tres* has been several times printed at Paris, Lyons, and Geneva.

‡‡ He was a native of Antwerp, of Spanish extraction. His treatise *De Jure et Officiis Bellicis* was printed at that city in 1597.

§§ Professor at Oxford about 1600. His book is *De Jure Belli*.

unjust, Ayala has not so much as touched upon. Gentilis has indeed described, after his manner, some of the general heads; but many prominent and frequent cases of controversy he has not even touched upon.

39. We have been careful that nothing of this kind be passed over in silence, having also indicated the sources from which we derive our judgments, so that it may be easy to determine any question that may happen to be omitted by us. It remains now that I briefly explain with what aids and with what care I undertook this work.

In the first place it was my object to refer the truth of the things which belong to natural law to some notions, so certain that no one can deny them without doing violence to his own nature. For the principles of such natural law, if you attend to them rightly, are of themselves patent and evident almost in the same way as things which are perceived by the external senses, which do not deceive us if the organs are rightly disposed and if other things necessary are not wanting. Therefore, Euripides, in his *Phœnissæ*, makes Polynices, whose cause he would have to be represented manifestly just, express himself thus: —

> I speak not things hard to be understood,
> But such as, founded on the rules of good
> And just, are known alike to learn'd and rude.

And he immediately adds the judgment of the chorus (which consisted of women, and these, too, barbarians), approving what he said.

40. In order to give proofs on questions respecting this natural law, I have made use of the testimonies of philosophers, historians, poets, and finally orators. Not that I regard these as judges from whose decision there is no appeal,— for they are warped by their party, their argument, their cause,— but I quote them as witnesses whose conspiring testimony, proceeding from innumerable different times and places, must be referred to some universal cause, which, in the questions with which we are here concerned, can be no other than a right deduction proceeding from the principles of reason or some common consent. The former cause of agreement points to the law of nature, the latter to the law of nations; though the difference of these two is not to be collected from the testimonies themselves (for writers everywhere confound the law

of nature and the law of nations), but from the quality of the matter. For what cannot be deduced from certain principles by solid reasoning, and yet is seen and observed everywhere, must have its origin from the will and consent of all.

41. I have therefore taken pains to distinguish natural law from the law of nations, as well as both from the civil law. I have even distinguished, in the law of nations, that which is truly and universally lawful, true rights; and quasi-rights, which only produce some external effect similar to that of the true rights, for instance this effect, that they may not be resisted by force or may even be defended by force, in order to avoid grave inconvenience. [Such quasi-rights are those of a master over his slave where slavery is established by law.—*Whewell.*] How necessary this observation is, in many instances, will appear in the course of the work. No less careful have I been to separate those things which belong to *jus*, or *right*, properly and strictly so called (out of which arises the obligation of restitution), and those which are more laxly described by *right*, adjectively; because to act otherwise is at variance with some dictate of right reason, concerning which diversity of *jus*, or right, we have already said something above.

42. Among the philosophers the first place is deservedly assigned to Aristotle, whether we regard the order of his treatment of these subjects or the acuteness of his distinctions or the weight of his reasons. Only it were to be wished that his authority had not, some ages ago, been converted into a tyranny by others, so that truth, in the pursuit of which Aristotle faithfully spent his life, suffers no oppression so great as that which is inflicted in Aristotle's name. I, both here and in other places, follow the liberty of the old Christians, who did not pin their faith to any sect of philosophers, not that they agreed with those who say that nothing can be known, than which nothing is more foolish, but that they thought that there was no sect which had seen the whole of the truth and none which had not seen some part of the truth. They, therefore, aimed at collecting the truth which was diffused among individual philosophers and among sects into one body; and they thought that this result could be nothing else but the true Christian doctrine.

43. Among other points, to mention this in passing as not foreign to our purpose, it appears to me that both some of the Platonists and the ancient Christians had good reason to

depart from Aristotle's doctrine, in which he placed the very nature of virtue in a *medium* of the affections and actions, which, having once laid down, carried him so far that he compounded liberality and frugality, two very different virtues, into one virtue, and assigned to truth two opposites which are by no means co-ordinate, boasting and dissimulation, and fastened upon some things the name of vices, which either do not exist or are not, of themselves, vices, as the contempt of pleasure and of honor and a lack of irascibility toward men.

44. That this foundation of virtue [that it is the *medium* between two extremes] is not a right one appears from the example of justice itself; for the *too much* and *too little* which are opposed to this, since he cannot find them in the affections and the consequent actions, he seeks in the things with which justice deals, which proceeding is, in the first place, a transition to another genus,— a fault which he justly blames in others; and, in the next place, to take less than is one's own may, indeed, have a vice adventitiously connected with it, growing out of a consideration of what a person, under the circumstances, owes to himself and those who depend on him, but certainly cannot be repugnant to justice, which resides entirely in abstaining from what is another's. And to this mistake that other is similar, that adultery as the fruit of lust, and homicide arising from anger, he will not allow to belong properly to injustice; though injustice is nothing else in its nature than the usurpation of what is another's, nor does it make any difference whether that proceeds from avarice or from lust or from anger or from thoughtless compassion, or, on the other hand, from the desire of superiority, in which the greatest examples of unjust aggressions originate. For to resist all impulses on this account only, that human society may not be violated, is what is really the proper character of justice.

45. To return to the point from which I started, it is true that it belongs to the character of certain virtues that the affections are kept in moderation; but it does not follow that this is the proper and universal character of all virtue, but that right reason, which virtue everywhere follows, dictates that in some things a medium course is to be followed, in others the highest degree of the affection is to be aimed at. Thus, for instance, we cannot love God too much; for superstition does not err in this, that it loves God too much, but that its love

acts perversely. We cannot desire eternal happiness too much nor fear eternal misery too much nor hate sin too much. It is, therefore, truly said by Gellius that there are some things of which the range is not to be bounded by any limits, such that the larger and fuller they are the more praiseworthy are they. So Lactantius, after discoursing much concerning the affections, says, "The procedure of wisdom is not shown in moderating them, but their causes, since they arise from external incitements; nor are we to make it our business to restrain such affections, since they may be feeble in the greatest crimes and vehement without any crime." It is our purpose to place Aristotle very high, but with the same liberty which he allowed himself, with reference to his own master, actuated by his love of truth.

46. Passages of history are of twofold use to us. They supply both examples of our arguments and judgment upon them with regard to examples. In proportion as they belong to better times and better nations, they have the more authority; and, therefore, we have preferred those taken from the Greeks and the Romans. Nor are the judgments delivered in such histories to be despised, especially when many of them agree. For natural law, as we have said, is, in a certain measure, to be proved by such consent; and, as to the law of nations, there is no other way of proving it.

47. The opinions of poets and orators have not so much weight; and these we often use, not so much in order to claim assent to what they say as that we may give to what we say something of ornament from their modes of expression.

48. The books written by men inspired by God, or approved by them, I often use as authority, with a distinction between the Old and the New Law. There are writers who allege the Old Law as a proof of the law of nature, but, undoubtedly, without sufficient reason; for many parts of that law proceed from the free will of God, which, however, is never at variance with the true law of nature. And, so far, an argument may rightly be drawn from it, provided we distinguish accurately the command and will of God, which God sometimes executes by means of men, and the rights of men toward one another. We have therefore shunned, as far as we could, both that error and the error contrary to that, of those who think that after the promulgation of the New Covenant there is no longer any use for the old one. We hold the contrary both for the

reasons which we have now alleged and because the nature of the New Covenant is such that with relation to the precepts which are given in the Old Testament pertaining to the moral virtues the New Testament commands the same or greater virtues of the same kind; and we see that the ancient Christian writers have used the testimony of the Old Covenant in this manner.

49. But, in order to see what is the knowledge which the books of the Old Testament contain, the Hebrew writers may help us no little, and especially those who were best acquainted with the discourses and manners of their countrymen.

50. I use the New Testament for this purpose,— that I may show, what cannot be shown in any other way, what is lawful for Christians, which, however, contrary to what most writers have done, I have distinguished from the law of nature, holding it for certain that in that more holy law a greater holiness is enjoined upon us than the law of nature of itself requires. Nor have I omitted to note, where there are matters which are rather recommended to us than commanded, that we may understand that to deviate from the commands is wicked and makes us liable to punishment. To aim at the highest excellence is the work of a nobler and more generous spirit, which will not want its reward.

51. The Synodical Canons, which are authentic, are collections from the general precepts of the divine law, adapted to special occurrences. And these either show what the divine law commands or exhort us to that which God enjoins. And this is the office of a truly Christian Church,— to deliver to Christians the precepts which God has delivered to it, and in the manner in which God has delivered them.

Also, the customs which were received or commanded among those ancient Christians who were truly worthy of that great name may, with reason, have the force of canons.

Next to these is the authority of those who, each in his own time, flourished among the Christians, with the reputation of piety and learning, and who were never charged with gross error. What these assert with great positiveness, as matters of which they are convinced, must be allowed to have no small weight in the interpretation of what is obscure in the sacred writings; and this the more in proportion as we have the assent of a greater number, and as they approach nearer to the times of original purity, when neither the domination of one nor the combination of several had operated to adulterate primitive truth.

52. The Schoolmen, who succeeded them, often show no ordinary powers of intellect: but they fell upon evil times, ignorant of good literature, and, therefore, it is the less wonderful if, among many things which merit praise, there are some which need excuse. Yet, when they agree in points of morals, they are not likely to be wrong, since they are very clear-sighted in discerning what may be found fault with in the doctrines of others; while in their mode of maintaining opposite sides of a question they afford a laudable example of moderation, contending against each other with arguments, and not, as the custom has been of late, to the dishonor of learning, with railing and abuse, the foul offspring of ill-regulated minds.

53. Of the teachers of the Roman law there are three kinds. The first, those whose works appear in the Pandects, the Codex of Theodosius and that of Justinian, and the laws called Novells. The second class contains those who succeeded Irnerius; namely, Accursius, Bartolus, and so many others who have long borne supreme sway in the courts of law. The third class includes those who have combined the study of elegant literature with the study of the law. For the first I have great deference; for they often supply the best reasons to prove what belongs to the nature of *jus* and give their testimony both to natural law and to the law of nations, yet in such a way that they, no less than others, often confound these provinces. Indeed, they often call that *jus gentium*, the law of nations, which is only the law of certain peoples, and that not even by consent, but what one nation has received by imitation of another or by accident. Also, what truly belongs to *jus gentium* they often treat promiscuously and indiscriminately with points which belong to the Roman law, as appears in the titles concerning Captives and Postliminium. We have endeavored to keep these subjects distinct.

54. The second of these classes, regardless of divine law and of ancient history, attempted to define all the controversies of kings and peoples on the grounds of the Roman law, sometimes taking into account the canons. But these writers, too, were prevented, by the unhappiness of their times, from understanding those laws rightly, being, in other respects, sufficiently intelligent in investigating the nature of right and

equity: whence it comes to pass that they, while they are good authorities for making new laws, are bad interpreters of laws already made. They are to be listened to with most attention when they give their testimony to such customs as make the law of nations in our time.

55. The masters of the third class, who include themselves within the limits of the Roman law and either never or in a very slight degree travel into that common or natural law, have scarcely any use in reference to our argument. They join the subtilty of the Schoolmen with a knowledge of the laws and canons, so that two of them, Spaniards, Covarruvias and Vasquius, did not abstain from the controversies even of peoples and of kings, the latter very freely, the former more modestly, and not without showing some exactness of judgment. The French have introduced the practice of connecting history more with the study of the law, among whom Bodin and Hotoman have a great name, the former in the general scheme of his work, the latter in questions scattered through the progress of his. Both the opinions and the arguments of these writers will often require our consideration, and will supply us with materials for truths.

56. In the whole course of my work I have had in view these things especially,—to make my definitions and reasons as clear as I could, to arrange in due order the matters I had to treat of, and to distinguish clearly things which were really different, though they seemed identical.

57. I have refrained from discussing points which belong to another subject, as the utility of this or that course; for these belong to a special art,—namely, the art political, which Aristotle rightly treats as a separate subject, mixing with it nothing of any other kind, thus differing from Bodinus, in whom this art is confounded with *jus* in our sense. In some cases, however, I have made mention of the utility of acts, but collaterally only, and in order to distinguish that question the more plainly from the question of right.

58. The reader will do me injustice if he judges me to have written with a regard to any controversies of our own time, either such as already exist or such as can be foreseen as likely to arise. I profess, in all sincerity, that, as mathematicians consider their figures as abstracted from body, so did I, in treating of rights, abstract my mind from every particular fact.

59. As to the style, I was unwilling, by adding prolixity of

language to the multitude of the matters treated of, to weary the reader whom I wished to benefit. I, therefore, have followed a concise and didactic mode of treatment, that they who have to manage public affairs may see, at one view, the kinds of controversies which are wont to arise and the principles by which they are to be decided. This being known, it will be easy to accommodate their own discourses to the subject and to expand the discussion as much as they please.

60. I have adduced the words of the authors themselves, when they were such as either carried with them authority or exhibited especial elegance, and this I have sometimes done in Greek authors; but mostly, when either the quotation was short or one of which I despaired of imitating the grace in a Latin translation, such a translation I have, however, added in every instance for the benefit of those who find the Greek difficult.

61. I beg all readers into whose hands my work may come to take the same liberty in judging of my opinions and expressions which I have taken with regard to those of others. They cannot be more ready to admonish me when I am in error than I shall be to attend to their admonition.

And now, if I have said anything which is at variance with sound piety, with good morals, with holy Scripture, with the unity of the Christian Church, with truth in any form, let that be as unsaid.

THE DEBT DUE TO HUGO GROTIUS.

Extracts from the address by Hon. Andrew D. White, delivered on the Fourth of July, 1899, at Delft, Holland, at the celebration given by the American Commission in honor of Grotius, at which, in presence of the members of the Peace Conference, he laid a silver wreath upon the tomb of Grotius, in accordance with instructions from the President, and in behalf of the people of the United States.

The Commission of the United States comes here this day to acknowledge, in behalf of our country, one of its many great debts to the Netherlands. This debt is that which, in common with the whole world, we owe to one of whom all civilized lands are justly proud,— the poet, the scholar, the historian, the statesman, the diplomatist, the jurist, the author of the treatise *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*. Of all works not claiming divine inspiration, that book, by a man proscribed and hated both for his politics and his religion, has proved the greatest blessing to humanity. More than any other it has prevented unmerited suffering, misery, and sorrow. More than any other it has promoted the blessings of peace and diminished the horrors of war. . . . His name has become too great to be celebrated by his native country alone: it can only be fitly celebrated in the presence of representatives from the whole world. For the first time in human history there are now assembled delegates with a common purpose from all the nations; and they are fully represented here. I feel empowered to speak words of gratitude not only from my own country, but from each of these. I feel that my own country, though one of the youngest in the great sisterhood of nations, utters at this shrine to-day not only her great gratitude, but that of every part of Europe, of all the great powers of Asia, of the sister republics of North and South America. From nations now civilized, but which Grotius knew only as barbarous, from nations which in his time were yet unborn, from every land where there are men who admire genius, who reverence virtue, who respect patriotism, who are grateful to those who have given their lives to toil, hardship, disappointment, and sacrifice for humanity, — from all these come thanks and greetings heartily mingled with our own.

This is the ancient and honored city of Delft. From its Haven, not distant, sailed the "Mayflower," bearing the Pilgrim Fathers who, in a time of obstinate and bitter persecution, brought to the American Continent the germs of that toleration which had been especially developed among them during their stay in the Netherlands, and of which Grotius was an apostle. In this town Grotius was born, in this temple he worshipped. These pavements he trod when a child. Often was this place revisited by him in his boyhood; at his death his mortal body was placed in this hallowed ground.

In the vast debt which all nations owe to Grotius, the United States acknowledges its part gladly. Perhaps in no other country has this thought penetrated more deeply and influenced more strongly the great mass of the people. . . . In all parts of our country the law of nations is especially studied by large bodies of young men in colleges and universities, — studied not professionally merely, but from the point of view of men eager to understand the fundamental principles of international rights and duties. The work of our compatriots, Wheaton, Kent, Field, Woolsey, Dana, Lawrence, and others, in developing more and more the ideas to which Grotius first gave life and strength, show that our country has not cultivated in vain this great field which Grotius opened.

An American jurist naturally sees, first, the relations of Grotius to the writers who preceded him. He sees other and lesser mountain peaks of thought emerging from the clouds of earlier history; and he acknowledges a debt to such men as Isidore of Seville, Suarez, Ayala, and Gentiles. But, when all this is acknowledged, he clearly sees Grotius, while rising from among these men, grandly towering above them. He sees in Grotius the first man who brought the main principles of those earlier thinkers to bear upon modern times,— increasing them from his own creative mind, strengthening them from the vast stores of his knowledge, enriching them from his imagination, glorifying them with his genius. His great mind brooded over that earlier chaos of opinion; and from his heart and brain, more than from those of any other, came a revelation to the modern world of new and better paths toward mercy and peace. But his agency was more than that. His coming was like the rising of the sun out of the primeval abyss: his work was both creative and illuminative. We may reverently insist that, in the domain of International Law, Grotius said: "Let there be light," and there was light. I need hardly remind you that it was mainly unheeded at first. Yet we see that the great light streaming from his heart and mind continued to shine, that it developed and fructified human thought, that it warmed into life new and glorious growths of right reason as to international relations; and we recognize the fact that, from his day to ours, the progress of reason in theory, and of mercy in practice, has been constant on both sides of the Atlantic.

My honored colleagues of the Peace Conference, the germ of this work in which we are all so earnestly engaged lies in a single sentence of Grotius's great book. Others, indeed, had proposed plans for the peaceful settlement of differences between nations, and the world remembers them with honor. To all of them, from Henry IV. and Kant and St. Pierre and Penn and Bentham, down to the humblest writer in favor of peace, we may well feel grateful; but the germ of arbitration was planted in modern thought when Grotius, urging arbitration and mediation as preventing war, wrote these solemn words in the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis:* "*Maxime autem christiani reges et civitates tenentur hanc inire viam ad arma vitanda.*" *

From this tomb of Grotius I seem to hear a voice which says to us as the delegates of the nations: "Go on with your mighty work. Avoid, as you would avoid the germs of pestilence, those exhalations of international hatred which take shape in monstrous fallacies and morbid fictions regarding alleged antagonistic interests. Guard well the treasures of civilization with which each of you is intrusted; but bear in mind that you hold a mandate from humanity."

These are the words which an American seems to hear issuing from this shrine to-day; and I seem also to hear from it a prophecy. I seem to hear Grotius saying to us: "Fear neither opposition nor detraction. As my own book, which grew out of the Eighty Years' and the Thirty Years' War, contained the germ from which your great Conference has grown, so your work, which is demanded by a world bent almost to breaking under the weight of ever-increasing armaments, shall be a germ from which future Conferences shall evolve plans ever fuller, better, and nobler."

I know of nothing which better marks the high moral tone of modern history than that the sublime code of international law should have come into form and established its authority over the civilized world within so short a time; for it is now scarcely more than two hundred years since it took its being. In the most polished and splendid age of Greece and Grecian philosophy, piracy was a lawful and even honorable occupation. Man upon the waters and the shark in them had a common right to feed on what they could subdue. Nations were considered as natural enemies; and for one people to plunder another by force of arms and to lay their country waste was no moral wrong, any more than for the tiger to devour the lamb. In war no terms of humanity were binding, and the passions of the parties were mitigated by no constraints of law. Captives were butchered or sold into slavery at pleasure. In time of peace it was not without great hazard that the citizen of one country could venture into another for purposes of travel or business.

Go now with me to a little French town near Paris, and there you shall see in his quiet retreat a silent, thoughtful man, bending his ample shoulders and more ample countenance over his table, and recording with a visible earnestness something that deeply concerns the world. This man has no office or authority to make him a lawgiver other than what belongs to the gifts of his own person,— a brilliant mind enriched by the amplest stores of learning and nerved by the highest principles of moral justice and Christian piety. He is, in fact, a fugitive and an exile from his country, separated from all power but the simple power of truth and reason. But he dares, you will see, to write *De Jure Belli et Pacis*. This is the man who was smuggled out of prison and out of his country, by his wife, to give law to all the nations of mankind in all future ages. On the sea and on the land, on all seas and all lands, he shall bear sway. In the silence of his study he stretches forth the sceptre of law over all potentates and peoples, defines their rights, arranges their intercourse, gives them terms of war and terms of peace, which they may not disregard. In the days of battle, too, when kings and kingdoms are thundering in the shock of arms, this same Hugo Grotius shall be there in all the turmoil of passion and the smoke of ruin, as a presiding throne of law commanding above the commanders, and, when the day is cast, prescribing to the victor terms of mercy and justice, which not even his hatred of the foe nor the exultation of the hour may dare to transcend.— *From Horace Bushnell's Address on The Growth of Law.*

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* "*Especially are Christian kings and states bound to try this way of avoiding war.*"

Hugo Grotius was born at Delft, in Holland, in 1583, and died in 1645. He was one of the greatest scholars of his time,— or, indeed, of any time,— and this in almost every field of the learning of the age. At the age of fifteen he was engaged in editing classical texts; and he wrote three dramas in Latin. Taking the degree of doctor of laws at Leyden, he entered upon practice as an advocate, and soon became advocate-general of the fisc for the provinces of Holland and Zeeland. He wrote largely on theological subjects. In 1603 the United Provinces appointed him the official historian of their struggle with Spain. In 1613 he was one of a deputation to the English court to adjust certain differences between the two young maritime powers. He was soon plunged into the theological controversies in Holland; and he was condemned to imprisonment at the same time that Barnevelt was condemned to death. Escaping from prison through his wife's ingenuity, he took refuge in France, and there, in exile and poverty, composed his great work, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, the principles and plan of which had been conceived as early as 1604, when he was a youth of twenty-one. It was published in 1625. After fruitless attempts to re-establish himself in Holland, he accepted service under the crown of Sweden as ambassador to the court of France. He died at Rostock in 1645 on a return journey from Stockholm.

There is no adequate book upon Grotius and his work in English, although there are important discussions by Hallam and many others. William Evats published an English translation of *De Jure Belli et Pacis* in 1682; and in 1738 another translation was published, anonymously, including the valuable notes of Barbeyrac. In 1853 William Whewell published a critical edition in three volumes, giving the full Latin text accompanied by an abridged translation; and this is emphatically the work to be commended to the English student of Grotius. The introduction to Grotius's work given in the present leaflet, stating the fundamental principles of the work, is Whewell's translation.

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Columbus in Cuba.

FROM THE JOURNAL OF COLUMBUS DURING HIS FIRST VOYAGE, 1492.

Sunday, 28th of October.—"I went thence in search of the island of Cuba on a S.S.W. coast, making for the nearest point of it, and entered a very beautiful river without danger of sunken rocks or other impediments. All the coast was clear of dangers up to the shore. The mouth of the river was 12 *brazos* across, and it is wide enough for a vessel to beat in. I anchored about a lombard-shot inside." The Admiral says that "he never beheld such a beautiful place, with trees bordering the river, handsome, green, and different from ours, having fruits and flowers each one according to its nature. There are many birds, which sing very sweetly. There are a great number of palm trees of a different kind from those in Guinea and from ours, of a middling height, the trunks without that covering,* and the leaves very large, with which they thatch their houses. The country is very level." The Admiral jumped into his boat and went on shore. He came to two houses, which he believed to belong to fishermen who had fled from fear. In one of them he found a kind of dog that never barks, and in both there were nets of palm-fibre and cordage, as well as horn fish-hooks, bone harpoons, and other apparatus "for fishing, and several hearths. He believed that many people lived together in one house. He gave orders that nothing in the houses should be touched, and so it was done." The herbage was as thick as in Andalusia during

* Camisa.

April and May. He found much purslane and wild amaranth.* He returned to the boat and went up the river for some distance, and he says it was great pleasure to see the bright verdure, and the birds, which he could not leave to go back. He says that this island is the most beautiful that eyes have seen, full of good harbours and deep rivers, and the sea appeared as if it never rose; for the herbage on the beach nearly reached the waves, which does not happen where the sea is rough. (Up to that time they had not experienced a rough sea among all those islands.) He says that the island is full of very beautiful mountains, although they are not very extensive as regards length, but high; and all the country is high like Sicily. It is abundantly supplied with water, as they gathered from the Indians they had taken with them from the island of Guanahani. These said by signs that there are ten great rivers, and that they cannot go round the island in twenty days. When they came near land with the ships, two canoes came out; and, when they saw the sailors get into a boat and row about to find the depth of the river where they could anchor, the canoes fled. The Indians say that in this island there are gold mines and pearls, and the Admiral saw a likely place for them and mussel-shells, which are signs of them. He understood that large ships of the Gran Can came here, and that from here to the mainland was a voyage of ten days. The Admiral called this river and harbour *San Salvador.*†

Monday, 29th of October.— The Admiral weighed anchor from this port and sailed to the westward, to go to the city, where, as it seemed, the Indians said that there was a king. They doubled a point six leagues to the N.W.‡ and then another point,§ then east ten leagues. After another league he saw a river with no very large entrance, to which he gave the name of *Rio de la Luna.*‖ He went on until the hour of Vespers. He saw another river much larger than the others,¶ as the Indians told him by signs, and near he saw goodly villages of houses. He called the river *Rio de Mares.*** He sent two boats on shore to a village to communicate, and one of the Indians he had brought with him, for now they understood a little, and show themselves content with Christians. All the men, women, and children fled, abandoning their houses with all they contained. The Admiral gave orders that nothing should be touched. The houses were better than those he had seen before, and he believed that the houses would improve as he approached the mainland. They were made like booths, very large, and looking like tents in a camp without regular streets, but one here and another there. Within they were clean and well swept, with the furniture well made. All are of palm branches beautifully constructed. They found many images in the shape of women, and many heads like masks,[*] very well carved. It was not known whether these were used as ornaments, or to be worshipped. They had dogs which never bark, and wild birds tamed in their houses. There was a wonderful supply of nets and other fishing implements, but nothing was touched. He believed that all the people on the coast were fishermen, who took the fish inland, for this island is very large, and so beautiful, that he is never tired of praising it. He says that he found trees and fruits of very marvellous taste; and adds that they must have cows or other cattle, for he saw skulls which were like those of cows. The songs of the birds and the chirping of crickets throughout the night lulled everyone to rest, while the air was soft and healthy, and the nights neither hot nor cold. On the voyage through the other islands there was great heat, but here it is tempered like the month of May. He attributed the heat of the other islands to their flatness, and to the wind coming from the east, which is hot. The water of the rivers was salt at the mouth, and they did not know whence the natives got their drinking-water, though they have sweet water in their houses. Ships are able to turn in this river, both entering and coming out, and there are very good leading-marks. He says that all this sea appears to be constantly smooth, like the river at Seville, and the water suitable for the growth of pearls. He found large shells unlike those of Spain. Remarking on the position of the river and port, to which he gave the name of San Salvador,[†] he describes its mountains as lofty and beautiful, like the *Peña de las Enamoradas*,[‡] and one of them has another little hill on its summit, like a graceful mosque. The other river and port, in which he now was,* has two round mountains to the S.W., and a fine low cape running out to the W.S.W.

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* Verdolagas y bledas.

† Puerto Naranjo. Nipe, according to Navarrete.

‡ Punta de Mulas.— N.

§ Punta de Cabañas.— N.

‖ Puerto de Banes.— N.

¶ Puerto de las Nuevitas del Principe.— N.

** Afterwards *Puerto de Baracoa*, called by the Adelantado of Cuba, Diego Velasquez, *Asumpcion.* (Herrera, *Dec. I*, Lib. II, cap xiv.)

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[*] The word is *Caratona*. Navarrete suggests *Caratula*, *Careta*, or *Mascarilla*.

[‖] The description applies exactly to *Puerto Naranjo*. Casas suggests *Puerto de Baracoa*, while Navarrete is confident that it is *Nipe*.

[‡] Near Granada.

Tuesday, 30th of October.— He left the Rio de Mares and steered N.W., seeing a cape covered with palm trees, to which he gave the name of *Cabo de Palmas*,† after having made good 15 leagues. The Indians on board the caravel *Pinta* said that beyond that cape there was a river,‡ and that from the river to *Cuba* it was four days' journey. The captain of the *Pinta* reported that he understood from that, that this *Cuba* was a city, and that the land was a great continent trending far to the north. The king of that country, he gathered, was at war with the Gran Can, whom they called *Cami*, and his land or city *Fava*, with many other names. The Admiral resolved to proceed to that river, and to send a present, with the letter of the Sovereigns, to the king of that land. For this service there was a sailor who had been to Guinea, and some of the Indians of Guanahani wished to go with him, and afterwards to return to their homes. The Admiral calculated that he was forty-two § degrees to the north of the equinoctial line (but the handwriting is here illegible). He says that he must attempt to reach the Gran Can, who he thought was here or at the city of Cathay,‖ which belongs to him, and is very grand, as he was informed before leaving Spain. All this land, he adds, is low and beautiful, and the sea deep.

Wednesday, 31st of October.— All Tuesday night he was beating to windward, and he saw a river, but could not enter it because the entrance was narrow. The Indians fancied that the ships could enter wherever their canoes could go. Navigating onwards, he came to a cape running out very far, and surrounded by sunken rocks,¶ and he saw a bay where small vessels might take shelter. He could not proceed because the wind had come round to the north, and all the coast runs N.W. and S.E. Another cape further on ran out still more.** For these reasons, and because the sky showed signs of a gale, he had to return to the *Rio de Mares.*

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* Nuevitas del Principe.— N.

† "Alto de Juan Dañue."— N.

‡ Rio Maximo.— N.

§ Wrongly transcribed. It must have been 21 in the original MS.

‖ In his letter, Toscanelli said that the usual residence of the Grand Khan was Cathay.

¶ Boca de Carabelas grandes.— N.

** Punta del Maternillo.— N.

Thursday, November the 1st.—At sunrise the Admiral sent the boats on shore to the houses that were there, and they found that all the people had fled. After some time a man made his appearance. The Admiral ordered that he should be left to himself, and the sailors returned to the boats. After dinner, one of the Indians on board was sent on shore. He called out from a distance that there was nothing to fear, because the strangers were good people and would do no harm to anyone, nor were they people of the Gran Can, but they had given away their things in many islands where they had been. The Indian then swam on shore, and two of the natives took him by the arms and brought him to a house, where they heard what he had to say. When they were certain that no harm would be done to them they were reassured, and presently more than sixteen canoes came to the ships with cotton thread and other trifles. The Admiral ordered that nothing should be taken from them, that they might understand that he sought for nothing but gold, which they called *nucay*. Thus they went to and fro between the ships and the shore all day, and they came to the Christians on shore with confidence. The Admiral saw no gold whatever among them, but he says that he saw one of them with a piece of worked silver fastened to his nose. They said, by signs, that within three days many merchants from inland would come to buy the things brought by the Christians, and would give information respecting the king of that land. So far as could be understood from their signs, he resided at a distance of four days' journey. They had sent many messengers in all directions, with news of the arrival of the Admiral. "These people," says the Admiral, "are of the same appearance and have the same customs as those of the other islands, without any religion so far as I know, for up to this day I have never seen the Indians on board say any prayer; though they repeat the *Salve* and *Ave Maria* with their hands raised to heaven, and they make the sign of the cross. The language is also the same, and they are all friends; but I believe that all these islands are at war with the Gran Can, whom they call *Cavila*, and his province *Bafan*. They all go naked like the others." This is what the Admiral says. "The river," he adds, "is very deep, and the ships can enter the mouth, going close to the shore. The sweet water does not come within a league of the mouth. It is certain," says the Admiral, "that this is the mainland, and that I am in front of *Zayto*[*] and *Guinsay*,[†] a hundred leagues, a little more or less, distant the one from the other. It was very clear that no one before has been so far as this by sea. Yesterday, with wind from the N.W., I found it cold."

Friday, 2nd of November.— The Admiral decided upon sending two Spaniards, one named Rodrigo de Jerez, who lived in Ayamonte, and the other Luis de Torres, who had served in the household of the Adelantado of Murcia, and had been a Jew, knowing Hebrew, Chaldee, and even some Arabic. With these men he sent two Indians, one from among those he had brought from Guanahani, and another a native of the houses by the river-side. He gave them strings of beads with which to buy food if they should be in need, and ordered them to return in six days. He gave them specimens of spices, to see if any were to be found. Their instructions were to ask for the king of that land, and they were told what to say on the part of the Sovereigns of Castile, how they had sent the Admiral with letters and a present, to inquire after his health and establish friendship, favouring him in what he might desire from them. They were to collect information respecting certain provinces, ports, and rivers of which the Admiral had notice, and to ascertain their distances from where he was.

This night the Admiral took an altitude with a quadrant, and found that the distance from the equinoctial line was 42 degrees.[‡] He says that, by his reckoning, he finds that he has gone over 1,142 leagues from the island of Hierro.[§] He still believes that he has reached the mainland.

Saturday, 3rd of November.— In the morning the Admiral got into the boat, and, as the river is like a great lake at the mouth, forming a very excellent port, very deep, and clear of rocks, with a good beach for careening ships, and plenty of fuel, he explored it until he came to fresh water at a distance of two leagues from the mouth. He ascended a small mountain to obtain a view of the surrounding country, but could see nothing, owing to the dense foliage of the trees, which were very fresh and odoriferous, so that he felt no doubt that there were aromatic herbs among them. He said that all he saw was so beautiful that his eyes could never tire of gazing upon such loveliness, nor his ears of listening to the songs of birds. That day many canoes came to the ships, to barter with cotton threads and with the nets in which they sleep, called *hamacas.*

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[*] In Toscanelli's letter it is stated that in the port of Zaiton alone there were a hundred ships laden with pepper at one time, without counting those laden with other spices. Zaiton was a seaport of the province of Fokien in China, now called Chwangchan-fu, between Fuchau and Amoy. The statement about the pepper trade was taken by Toscanelli from Marco Polo.

[†] Quinsay of Toscanelli is the Kinsay of Marco Polo, who fully describes it; now called Hangchau, south of Shanghai. Marco Polo says it was in the province of Mangi, near Catay, and that the word means "city of heaven."

[‡] An erroneous transcription. It should be 22.

[§] The true distance was 1,105 leagues.— N.

Sunday, 4th of November.—At sunrise the Admiral again went away in the boat, and landed to hunt the birds he had seen the day before. After a time, Martin Alonso Pinzon came to him with two pieces of cinnamon, and said that a Portuguese, who was one of his crew, had seen an Indian carrying two very large bundles of it; but he had not bartered for it, because of the penalty imposed by the Admiral on any one who bartered. He further said that this Indian carried some brown things like nutmegs. The master of the *Pinta* said that he had found the cinnamon trees. The Admiral went to the place, and found that they were not cinnamon trees. The Admiral showed the Indians some specimens of cinnamon and pepper he had brought from Castile, and they knew it, and said, by signs, that there was plenty in the vicinity, pointing to the S.E. He also showed them gold and pearls, on which certain old men said that there was an infinite quantity in a place called *Bohio*,* and that the people wore it on their necks, ears, arms, and legs, as well as pearls. He further understood them to say that there were great ships and much merchandise, all to the S.E. He also understood that, far away, there were men with one eye, and others with dogs' noses who were cannibals, and that when they captured an enemy they beheaded him and drank his blood.

The Admiral then determined to return to the ship and wait for the return of the two men he had sent, intending to depart and seek for those lands, if his envoys brought some good news touching what he desired. The Admiral further says: "These people are very gentle and timid; they go naked, as I have said, without arms and without law. The country is very fertile. The people have plenty of roots called *zanahorias* (yams), with a smell like chestnuts; and they have beans of kinds very different from ours. They also have much cotton, which they do not sow, as it is wild in the mountains, and

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* *Bohio* was their name for a house. The Admiral cannot have understood what they were saying. (*Las Casas.*)

I believe they collect it throughout the year, because I saw pods empty, others full, and flowers all on one tree. There are a thousand other kinds of fruits which it is impossible for me to write about, and all must be profitable." All this the Admiral says.

Monday, 5th of November.—This morning the Admiral ordered the ship to be careened, afterwards the other vessels, but not all at the same time. Two were always to be at the anchorage, as a precaution; although he says that these people were very safe, and that without fear all the vessels might have been careened at the same time. Things being in this state, the master of the *Niña** came to claim a reward from the Admiral because he had found mastick, but he did not bring the specimen, as he had dropped it. The Admiral promised him a reward, and sent Rodrigo Sanchez and master Diego † to the trees. They collected some, which was kept to present to the Sovereigns, as well as the tree. The Admiral says that he knew it was mastick, though it ought to be gathered at the proper season. There is enough in that district for a yield of 1,000 *quintals* every year. The Admiral also found here a great deal of the plant called aloe. He further says that the *Puerto de Mares* is the best in the world, with the finest climate and the most gentle people. As it has a high, rocky cape, a fortress might be built, so that, in the event of the place becoming rich and important, the merchants would be safe from any other nations. He adds: "The Lord, in whose hands are all victories, will ordain all things for his service. An Indian said by signs that the mastick was good for pains in the stomach."

Tuesday, 6th of November.—"Yesterday, at night," says the Admiral, "the two men came back who had been sent to explore the interior. They said that after walking 12 leagues they came to a village of 50 houses, where there were a thousand inhabitants, for many live in one house. These houses are like very large booths. They said that they were received with great solemnity, according to custom, and all, both men and women, came out to see them. They were lodged in the best houses, and the people touched them, kissing their hands and feet, marvelling and believing that they came from heaven, and so they gave them to understand. They gave them to eat of what they had. When they arrived, the chief people conducted them by the arms to the principal house, gave them two chairs on which to sit, and all the natives sat round them on the ground. The Indian who came with them described the manner of living of the Christians, and said that they were good people. Presently the men went out, and the women came sitting round them in the same way, kissing their hands and feet, and looking to see if they were of flesh and bones like themselves. They begged the Spaniards to remain with them at least five days." The Spaniards showed the natives specimens of cinnamon, pepper, and other spices which the Admiral had given them, and they said, by signs, that there was plenty at a short distance from thence to S.E., but that there they did not know whether there was any.* Finding that they had no information respecting cities, the Spaniards returned; and if they had desired to take those who wished to accompany them, more than 500 men and women would have come, because they thought the Spaniards were returning to heaven. There came, however, a principal man of the village and his son, with a servant. The Admiral conversed with them, and showed them much honour. They made signs respecting many lands and islands in those parts. The Admiral thought of bringing them to the Sovereigns. He says that he knew not what fancy took them; either from fear, or owing to the dark night, they wanted to land. The ship was at the time high and dry, but, not wishing to make them angry, he let them go on their way, saying that they would return at dawn, but they never came back. The two Christians met with many people on the road going home, men and women with a half-burnt weed in their hands, being the herbs they are accustomed to smoke.† They did not find villages on the road of more than five houses, all receiving them with the same reverence. They saw many kinds of trees, herbs, and sweet-smelling flowers; and birds of many different kinds, unlike those of Spain, except the partridges, geese, of which there are many, and singing nightingales. They saw no quadrupeds except the dogs that do not bark. The land is very fertile, and is cultivated with yams and several kinds of beans different from ours, as well as corn. There were great quantities of cotton gathered, spun, and worked up. In a single house they saw more than 500 *arrobas*, and as much as 4,000 *quintals* could be yielded every year. The Admiral said that "it did not appear to be cultivated, and that it bore all the year round. It is very fine, and has a large boll. All that was possessed by these people they gave at a very low price, and a great bundle of cotton was exchanged for the point of a needle or other trifle. They are a people," says the Admiral, "guileless and unwarlike. Men and women go as naked as when their mothers bore them. It is true that the women wear a very small rag of cotton cloth, and they are of very good appearance, not very dark, less so than the Canarians. I hold, most serene Princes, that if devout religious persons were here, knowing the language, they would all turn Christians. I trust in our Lord that your Highnesses will resolve upon this with much diligence, to bring so many great nations within the Church, and to convert them, as you have destroyed those who would not confess the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And after your days, all of us being mortal, may your kingdoms remain in peace, and free from heresy and evil, and may you be well received before the eternal Creator, to whom I pray that you may have long life and great increase of kingdoms and lordships, with the will and disposition to increase the holy Christian religion as you have done hitherto. Amen!"

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* This was Juan Niño, Master, who, with his brother, Pero Alonso Niño, the pilot, were the owners of the caravel *Niña*.

† Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia was the royal overseer in the Admiral's ship and Master Diego was the boatswain.

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* This passage is obscure, no doubt owing to careless transcription. Las Casas has: "and asked them if they had any there. They answered no, but made signs that there was plenty near, towards the S.E."

† Tobacco. Las Casas says that they are dried leaves rolled up in the shape of the squibs made by the boys at Easter. Lighted at one end, the roll is chewed, and the smoke is inhaled at the other. It has the effect of making them sleepy and almost intoxicated, and in using it they do not feel tired. These rolls of dried leaves are called by them *tabacos*. Las Casas adds that he knew Spaniards in Española who were accustomed to smoke it, and, when their habit was reprehended as a vice, they said they could not leave off. Las Casas did not understand what pleasure or profit they found in it.

"To-day I got the ship afloat, and prepared to depart on Thursday, in the name of God, and to steer S.E. in search of gold and spices, and to discover land."

These are the words of the Admiral, who intended to depart on Thursday, but, the wind being contrary, he could not go until the 12th of November.

Monday, 12th of November.— The Admiral left the port and river of *Mares* before dawn to visit the island called *Babeque*,* so much talked of by the Indians on board, where, according to their signs, the people gather the gold on the beach at night with candles, and afterwards beat it into bars with hammers.

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* The Indians called the "Tierra Firme," or coast of the mainland, *Babeque* or *Caritaba*.— N.

To go thither it was necessary to shape a course E. b. S. After having made 8 leagues along the coast, a river was sighted, and another 4 leagues brought them to another river, which appeared to be of great volume, and larger than any they had yet seen. The Admiral did not wish to stop nor to enter any of these rivers, for two reasons: the first and principal one being that wind and weather were favourable for going in search of the said island of Babeque; the other, that, if there was a populous and famous city near the sea, it would be visible, while, to go up the rivers, small vessels are necessary, which those of the expedition were not. Much time would thus be lost; moreover, the exploration of such rivers is a separate enterprise. All that coast was peopled near the river, to which the name of *Rio del Sol* was given.

The Admiral says that, on the previous Sunday, the 11th of November, it seemed good to take some person from amongst those at *Rio de Mares*, to bring to the Sovereigns, that they might learn our language, so as to be able to tell us what there is in their lands. Returning, they would be the mouthpieces of the Christians, and would adopt our customs and the things of the faith. "I saw and knew" (says the Admiral) "that these people are without any religion, not idolaters, but very gentle, not knowing what is evil, nor the sins of murder and theft, being without arms, and so timid that a hundred would fly before one Spaniard, although they joke with them.* They, however, believe and know that there is a God in heaven, and say that we have come from heaven. At any prayer that we say, they repeat, and make the sign of the cross. Thus your Highnesses should resolve to make them Christians, for I believe that, if the work was begun, in a little time a multitude of nations would be converted to our faith, with the acquisition of great lordships, peoples, and riches for Spain. Without doubt, there is in these lands a vast quantity of gold, and the Indians I have on board do not speak without reason when they say that in these islands there are places where they dig out gold, and wear it on their necks, ears, arms, and legs, the rings being very large. There are also precious stones, pearls, and an infinity of spices. In this river of Mares, whence we departed to-night, there is undoubtedly a great quantity of mastick, and much more could be raised, because the trees may be planted, and will yield abundantly. The leaf and fruit are

* "aunque burlen con ellos."

like the mastick, but the tree and leaf are larger. As Pliny describes it, I have seen it on the island of Chios in the Archipelago. I ordered many of these trees to be tapped, to see if any of them would yield resin; but, as it rained all the time I was in that river, I could not get any, except a very little, which I am bringing to your Highnesses. It may not be the right season for tapping, which is, I believe, when the trees come forth after winter and begin to flower. But when I was there the fruit was nearly ripe. Here also there is a great quantity of cotton, and I believe it would have a good sale here without sending it to Spain, but to the great cities of the Gran Can, which will be discovered without doubt, and many others ruled over by other Lords, who will be pleased to serve your Highnesses, and whither will be brought other commodities of Spain and of the Eastern lands; but these are to the west as regards us. There is also here a great yield of aloes, though this is not a commodity that will yield great profit. The mastick, however, is important, for it is only obtained from the said island of Chios, and I believe the harvest is worth 50,000 ducats, if I remember right.* There is here, in the mouth of the river, the best port I have seen up to this time, wide, deep, and clear of rocks. It is an excellent site for a town and fort, for any ship could come close up to the walls; the land is high, with a temperate climate, and very good water.

"Yesterday a canoe came alongside the ship, with six youths in it. Five came on board, and I ordered them to be detained. They are now here. I afterwards sent to a house on the western side of the river, and seized seven women, old and young, and three children. I did this because the men would behave better in Spain if they had women of their own land, than without them. For on many occasions the men of Guinea have been brought to learn the language in Portugal, and afterwards, when they returned, and it was expected that they would be useful in their land, owing to the good company they had enjoyed and the gifts they had received, they never appeared after arriving. Others may not act thus. But, having women, they have the wish to perform what they are required to do; besides, the women would teach our people their language, which is the same in all these islands, so that those who make voyages in their canoes are understood everywhere. On the other hand, there are a thousand different languages in Guinea, and one native does not understand another.

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* The ducat being 9*s.* 2*d.* In the seventeenth century the value of the mastick exported from Chios was 30,000 ducats. See also *Letter to Santangel.* Chios belonged to Genoa from 1346 to 1566.

"The same night the husband of one of the women came alongside in a canoe, who was father of the three children — one boy and two girls. He asked me to let him come with them, and besought me much. They are now all consoled at being with one who is a relation of them all. He is a man of about 45 years of age." * All these are the words of the Admiral. He also says that he had felt some cold, and that it would not be wise to continue discoveries in a northerly direction in the winter. On this Monday, until sunset, he steered a course E. b. S., making 18 leagues, and reaching a cape, to which he gave the name of *Cabo de Cuba.*

Tuesday, 13*th of November.*— This night the ships were on a bowline, as the sailors say, beating to windward without making any progress. At sunset they began to see an opening in the mountains, where two very high peaks † were visible. It appeared that here was the division between the land of Cuba and that of Bohio, and this was affirmed by signs, by the Indians who were on board. As soon as the day had dawned, the Admiral made sail towards the land, passing a point which appeared at night to be distant two leagues. He then entered a large gulf, 5 leagues to the S.S.E., and there remained 5 more, to arrive at the point where, between two great mountains, there appeared to be an opening; but it could not be made out whether it was an inlet of the sea. As he desired to go to the island called Babeque, where, according to the information he had received, there was much gold; and as it bore east, and as no large town was in sight, the wind freshening more than ever, he resolved to put out to sea, and work to the east with a northerly wind. The ship made 8 miles an hour, and from ten in the forenoon, when that course was taken, until sunset, 56 miles, which is 14 leagues to the eastward from the *Cabo de Cuba.* The other land of Bohio was left to leeward. Commencing from the cape of the said gulf, he discovered, according to his reckoning, 80 miles, equal to 20 leagues, all that coast running E.S.E. and W.N.W.

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* Las Casas denounces this proceeding as a breach of the law of nations, which is not excused by the Admiral's good intentions; for it is never right to do evil that good may come of it. St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, teaches non sunt facienda mala ut bona eveniant" (Romans iii. 8). "Certainly the Admiral acted on this occasion inconsiderately, though in other things he was prudent." But, on account of this act alone, Las Casas considers that he well merited all the sorrows and misfortunes which he suffered during the rest of his life.

† *Las Sierras del Cristal* and *Las Sierras de Moa.*—N.

Wednesday, 14th of November.— All last night the Admiral was beating to windward (he said that it would be unreasonable to navigate among those islands during the night, until they had been explored), for the Indians said yesterday that it would take three days to go from Rio de Mares to the island of Babeque, by which should be understood days' journeys in their canoes equal to about 7 leagues. The wind fell, and, the course being east, she could not lay her course nearer than S.E., and, owing to other mischances, he was detained until the morning. At sunrise he determined to go in search of a port, because the wind had shifted from north to N.E., and, if a port could not be found, it would be necessary to go back to the ports in the island of Cuba, whence they came. The Admiral approached the shore, having gone over 28 miles E.S.E. that night. He steered south . . . miles to the land, where he saw many islets and openings. As the wind was high and the sea rough, he did not dare to risk an attempt to enter, but ran along the coast W.N.W., looking out for a port, and saw many, but none very clear of rocks. After having proceeded for 64 miles, he found a very deep opening, a quarter of a mile wide, with a good port and river. He ran in with her head S.S.W., afterwards south to S.E. The port* was spacious and very deep, and he saw so many islands that he could not count them all, with very high land covered with trees of many kinds, and an infinite number of palms. He was much astonished to see so many lofty islands; and assured the Sovereigns that the mountains and isles he had seen since yesterday seemed to him to be second to none in the world; so high and clear of clouds and snow, with the sea at their bases so deep. He believes that these islands are those innumerable ones that are depicted on the maps of the world in the Far East.† He believed that they yielded very great riches in precious stones and spices, and that they extend much further to the south, widening out in all directions. He gave the name of *La Mar de Nuestra Señora*, and to the haven, which is near the mouth of the entrance to these islands, *Puerto del Principe*. He did not enter it, but examined it from outside, until another time, on Saturday of the next week, as will there appear. He speaks highly of the fertility, beauty, and height of the islands which he found in this gulf, and he tells the Sovereigns not to wonder at his praise of them, for that he has not told them the hundredth part. Some of them seemed to reach to heaven, running up into peaks like diamonds. Others have a flat top like a table. At their bases the sea is of a great depth, with enough water for a very large carrack. All are covered with foliage and without rocks.

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* Puerto de Taxamo, in Cuba.

† A group of innumerable islands was usually placed in the ocean to the east of Asia; and no doubt they were shown on the map of Toscanelli which Columbus took with him, as they certainly are on the globe of Martin Behaim, drawn in 1492.

Thursday, 15*th of November*.— The Admiral went to examine these islands in the ships' boats, and speaks marvels of them, how he found mastick, and aloes without end. Some of them were cultivated with the roots of which the Indians make bread; and he found that fires had been lighted in several places. He saw no fresh water. There were some natives, but they fled. In all parts of the sea where the vessels were navigated he found a depth of 15 or 16 fathoms, and all *basa*, by which he means that the ground is sand, and not rocks; a thing much desired by sailors, for the rocks cut their anchor cables.

Friday, 16*th of November*.— As in all parts, whether islands or mainlands, that he visited, the Admiral always left a cross, so, on this occasion, he went in a boat to the entrance of these havens, and found two very large trees on a point of land, one longer than the other. One being placed over the other made a cross, and he said that a carpenter could not have made it better. He ordered a very large and high cross to be made out of these timbers. He found canes on the beach, and did not know where they had grown, but thought they must have been brought down by some river, and washed up on the beach (in which opinion he had reason). He went to a creek on the south-east side of the entrance to the port. Here, under a height of rock and stone like a cape, there was depth enough for the largest carrack in the world close in shore, and there was a corner where six ships might lie without anchors as in a room. It seemed to the Admiral that a fortress might be built here at small cost, if at any time any famous trade * should arise in that sea of islands.

Returning to the ship, he found that the Indians who were on board had fished up very large shells found in those seas. He made the people examine them, to see if there was mother-o'-pearl, which is in the shells where pearls grow. They found a great deal, but no pearls, and their absence was attributed to its not being the season, which is May and June. The sailors found an animal which seemed to be a *taso*, or *taxo*.* They also fished with nets, and, among many others, caught a fish which was exactly like a pig, not like a tunny, but all covered with a very hard shell, without a soft place except the eyes. It was ordered to be salted, to bring home for the Sovereigns to see.

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* *Resgate. Rescate* (Las Casas).

Saturday, 17*th of November*.—The Admiral got into the boat, and went to visit the islands he had not yet seen to the S.W. He saw many more very fertile and pleasant islands, with a great depth between them. Some of them had springs of fresh water, and he believed that the water of those streams came from some sources at the summits of the mountains. He went on, and found a beach bordering on very sweet water, which was very cold. There was a beautiful meadow, and many very tall palms. They found a large nut of the kind belonging to India, great rats, and enormous crabs. He saw many birds, and there was a strong smell of musk, which made him think it must be there. This day the two eldest of the six youths brought from the *Rio de Mares*, who were on board the caravel *Niña*, made their escape.

Sunday, 18*th of November*.—The Admiral again went away with the boats, accompanied by many of the sailors, to set up the cross which he had ordered to be made out of the two large trees at the entrance to the *Puerto del Principe*, on a fair site cleared of trees, whence there was an extensive and very beautiful view. He says that there is a greater rise and fall there than in any other port he has seen, and that this is no marvel, considering the numerous islands. The tide is the reverse of ours, because here, when the moon is S.S.W., it is low water in the port. He did not get under weigh, because it was Sunday.

Monday, 19*th of November*.—The Admiral got under weigh before sunrise, in a calm. In the afternoon there was some wind from the east, and he shaped a N.N.E. course. At sunset the *Puerto del Principe* bore S.S.W. 7 leagues. He saw the island of Babeque bearing due east about 60 miles. He steered N.E. all that night, making 60 miles, and up to ten o'clock of Tuesday another dozen; altogether 18 leagues N.E. b. W.

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* Las Casas does not seem to know the meaning of this word, and complains that Columbus does not say whether it was a land or marine beast.

Tuesday, 20th of November.— They left Babeque, or the islands of Babeque, to the E.S.E., the wind being contrary; and, seeing that no progress was being made, and the sea was getting rough, the Admiral determined to return to the *Puerto del Principe*, whence he had started, which was 25 leagues distant. He did not wish to go to the island he had called Isabella, which was twelve leagues off, and where he might have anchored that night, for two reasons: one was that he had seen two islands to the south which he wished to explore; the other, because the Indians he brought with him, whom he had taken at the island of Guanahani, which he named San Salvador, eight leagues from Isabella, might get away, and he said that he wanted them to take to Spain. They thought that, when the Admiral had found gold, he would let them return to their homes. He came near the *Puerto del Principe*, but could not reach it, because it was night, and because the current drifted them to the N.W. He turned her head to N.E. with a light wind. At three o'clock in the morning the wind changed, and a course was shaped E.N.E., the wind being S.S.W., and changing at dawn to south and S.E. At sunset *Puerto del Principe* bore nearly S.W. by W. 48 miles, which are 12 leagues.

Wednesday, 21st of November.— At sunrise the Admiral steered east, with a southerly wind, but made little progress, owing to a contrary sea. At vespers he had gone 24 miles. Afterwards the wind changed to east, and he steered S. b. E., at sunset having gone 12 miles. Here he found himself forty-two degrees* north of the equinoctial line, as in the port of *Mares*, but he says that he kept the result from the quadrant in suspense until he reached the shore, that it might be adjnsted (as it would seem that he thought this distance was too great, and he had reason, it not being possible, as these islands are only in . . . † degrees ‡).

This day Martin Alonso Pinzon parted company with the caravel *Pinta*, in disobedience to and against the wish of the Admiral, and out of avarice, thinking that an Indian who had been put on board his caravel could show him where there was much gold. So he parted company, not owing to bad weather, but because he chose. Here the Admiral says: "He had done and said many other things to me."

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* An erroneous transcription. It should be 21°.

† A gap in the manuscript.

‡ Las Casas here interpolates some further remarks about the latitude, which are of no interest, as the figures on which he bases them are a blunder of his own in transcribing.

Thursday, 22nd of November.—On Wednesday night the Admiral steered S.S.E., with the wind east, but it was nearly calm. At 3 it began to blow from N.N.E.; and he continued to steer south to see the land he had seen in that quarter. When the sun rose he was as far off as the day before, owing to adverse currents, the land being 40 miles off. This night Martin Alonso shaped a course to the east, to go to the island of Babeque, where the Indians say there is much gold. He did this in sight of the Admiral, from whom he was distant 16 miles. The Admiral stood towards the land all night. He shortened sail, and showed a lantern, because Pinzon would thus have an opportunity of joining him, the night being very clear, and the wind fair to come, if he had wished to do so.

Friday, 23rd of November.—The Admiral stood towards the land all day, always steering south with little wind, but the current would never let them reach it, being as far off at sunset as in the morning. The wind was E.N.E., and they could shape a southerly course, but there was little of it. Beyond this cape there stretched out another land or cape, also trending east, which the Indians on board called *Bohio*. They said that it was very large, and that there were people in it who had one eye in their foreheads, and others who were cannibals, and of whom they were much afraid. When they saw that this course was taken, they said that they could not talk to these people because they would be eaten, and that they were very well armed. The Admiral says that he well believes that there were such people, and that if they are armed they must have some ability. He thought that they may have captured some of the Indians, and because they did not return to their homes, the others believed that they had been eaten. They thought the same of the Christians and of the Admiral when some of them first saw the strangers.

Saturday, 24th of November.—They navigated all night, and at 3 they reached the island at the very same point they had come to the week before, when they started for the island of Babeque. At first the Admiral did not dare to approach the shore, because it seemed that there would be a great surf in that mountain-girded bay. Finally he reached the sea of *Nuestra Señora*, where there are many islands, and entered a port near the mouth of the opening to the islands. He says that if he had known of this port before he need not have occupied himself in exploring the islands, and it would not have been necessary to go back, He, however, considered that the time was well spent in examining the islands. On nearing the land he sent in the boat to sound; finding a good sandy bottom in 6 to 20 fathoms. He entered the haven, pointing the ship's head S.W. and then west, the flat island bearing north. This, with another island near it, forms a harbour which would hold all the ships of Spain safe from all winds. This entrance on the S.W. side is passed by steering S.S.W., the outlet being to the west very deep and wide. Thus a vessel can pass amidst these islands, and he who approaches from the north, with a knowledge of them, can pass along the coast. These islands are at the foot of a great mountain-chain running east and west, which is longer and higher than any others on this coast, where there are many. A reef of rocks outside runs parallel with the said mountains, like a bench, extending to the entrance. On the side of the flat island, and also to the S.E., there is another small reef, but between them is great width and depth. Within the port, near the S.E. side of the entrance, they saw a large and very fine* river, with more volume than any they had yet met with, and fresh water could be taken from it as far as the sea. At the entrance there is a bar, but within it is very deep, 19 fathoms. The banks are lined with palms and many other trees.

Sunday, 25*th of November*.— Before sunrise the Admiral got into the boat, and went to see a cape or point of land † to the S.E. of the flat island, about a league and a half distant, because there appeared to be a good river there. Presently, near to S.E. side of the cape, at a distance of two cross-bow shots, he saw a large stream of beautiful water falling from the mountains ‡ above, with a loud noise. He went to it, and saw some stones shining in its bed like gold.§ He remembered that in the river Tejo, near its junction with the sea, there was gold; so it seemed to him that this should contain gold, and he ordered some of these stones to be collected, to be brought to the Sovereigns. Just then the sailor boys called out that they had found large pines. The Admiral looked up the hill, and saw that they were so wonderfully large that he could not exaggerate their height and straightness, like stout yet fine spindles. He perceived that here there was material for great store of planks and masts for the largest ships in Spain. He saw oaks and arbutus trees, with a good river, and the means of making water-power. The climate was temperate, owing to the height of the mountains. On the beach he saw many other stones of the colour of iron, and others that some said were like silver ore, all brought down by the river. Here he obtained a new mast and yard for the mizen of the caravel *Niña*. He came to the mouth of the river, and entered a creek which was deep and wide, at the foot of that S.E. part of the cape, which would accommodate a hundred ships without any anchor or hawsers. Eyes never beheld a better harbour. The mountains are very high, whence descend many limpid streams, and all the hills are covered with pines, and an infinity of diverse and beautiful trees. Two or three other rivers were not visited.

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* Rio de Moa.

† Punta del Mangle or del Guarico.

‡ Sierras de Moa.

§ Las Casas says these were probably stones called *margasita*, of which there are many in these streams.

The Admiral described all this, in much detail, to the Sovereigns, and declared that he had derived unspeakable joy and pleasure at seeing it, more especially the pines, because they enable as many ships as is desired to be built here, bringing out the rigging, but finding here abundant supplies of wood and provisions. He affirms that he has not enumerated a hundredth part of what there is here, and that it pleased our Lord always to show him one thing better than another, as well on the ground and among the trees, herbs, fruits, and flowers, as in the people, and always something different in each place. It had been the same as regards the havens and the waters. Finally, he says that, if it caused him who saw it so much wonder, how much more will it affect those who hear about it; yet no one can believe until he sees it.

Monday, 26*th of November*.— At sunrise the Admiral weighed the anchors in the haven of *Santa Catalina*, where he was behind the flat island, and steered along the coast in the direction of *Cabo del Pico*, which was S.E. He reached the cape late, because the wind failed, and then saw another cape, S.E. b. E. 60 miles, which, when 20 miles off, was named *Cabo de Campana*, but it could not be reached that day. They made good 32 miles during the day, which is 8 leagues. During this time the Admiral noted nine remarkable ports,* which all the sailors thought wonderfully good, and five large rivers; for they sailed close along the land, so as to see everything. All along the coast there are very high and beautiful mountains, not arid or rocky, but all accessible, and very lovely. The valleys, like the mountains, were full of tall and fine trees, so that it was a glory to look upon them, and there seemed to be many pines. Also, beyond the said *Cabo de Pico* to the S.E. there are two islets, each about two leagues round, and inside them three excellent havens and two large rivers. Along the whole coast no inhabited places were visible from the sea. There may have been some, and there were indications of them, for, when the men landed, they found signs of people and numerous remains of fires. The Admiral conjectured that the land he saw to-day S.E. of the *Cabo de Campana* was the island called by the Indians *Bohio*: it looked as if this cape was separated from the mainland. The Admiral says that all the people he has hitherto met with have very great fear of those of *Caniba* or *Canima*. They affirm that they live in the island of *Bohio*, which must be very large, according to all accounts. The Admiral understood that those of Caniba come to take people from their homes, they being very cowardly, and without knowledge of arms. For this cause it appears that these Indians do not settle on the seacoast, owing to being near the land of Caniba. When the natives who were on board saw a course shaped for that land, they feared to speak, thinking they were going to be eaten; nor could they rid themselves of their fear. They declared that the Canibas had only one eye and dogs' faces. The Admiral thought they lied, and was inclined to believe that it was people from the dominions of the Gran Can who took them into captivity.

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* Among these were the Bay of Yamanique, and the ports of Jaragua, Taco, Cayaganueque, Nava, and Maravi.— N.

Tuesday, 27th of November.—Yesterday, at sunset, they arrived near a cape named *Campana* by the Admiral; and, as the sky was clear and the wind light, he did not wish to run in close to the land and anchor, although he had five or six singularly good havens under his lee. The Admiral was attracted on the one hand by the longing and delight he felt to gaze upon the beauty and freshness of those lands, and on the other by a desire to complete the work he had undertaken. For these reasons he remained close hauled, and stood off and on during the night. But, as the currents had set him more than 5 or 6 leagues to the S.E. beyond where he had been at nightfall, passing the land of *Campana*, he came in sight of a great opening beyond that cape, which seemed to divide one land from another, leaving an island between them. He decided to go back, with the wind S.E., steering to the point where the opening had appeared, where he found that it was only a large bay;[*] and at the end of it, on the S.E. side, there was a point of land on which was a high and square-cut hill,[†] which had looked like an island. A breeze sprang up from the north, and the Admiral continued on a S.E. course, to explore the coast and discover all that was there. Presently he saw, at the foot of the *Cabo de Campana*, a wonderfully good port,[‡] and a large river, and, a quarter of league on, another river, and a third, and a fourth to a seventh at similar distances, from the furthest one to *Cabo de Campana* being 20 miles S.E. Most of these rivers have wide and deep mouths, with excellent havens for large ships, without sandbanks or sunken rocks. Proceeding onwards from the last of these rivers, on a S.E. course, they came to the largest inhabited place they had yet seen, and a vast concourse of people came down to the beach with loud shouts, all naked, with their darts in their hands. The Admiral desired to have speech with them, so he furled sails and anchored. The boats of the ship and the caravel were sent on shore, with orders to do no harm whatever to the Indians, but to give them presents. The Indians made as if they would resist the landing, but, seeing that the boats of the Spaniards continued to advance without fear, they retired from the beach. Thinking that they would not be terrified if only two or three landed, three Christians were put on shore, who told them not to be afraid, in their own language, for they had been able to learn a little from the natives who were on board. But all ran away, neither great nor small remaining. The Christians went to the houses, which were of straw, and built like the others they had seen, but found no one in any of them. They returned to the ships, and made sail at noon in the direction of a fine cape[§] to the eastward, about 8 leagues distant. Having gone about half a league, the Admiral saw, on the south side of the same bay, a very remarkable harbour[||] and to the S.E. some wonderfully beautiful country like a valley among the mountains, whence much smoke arose, indicating a large population, with signs of much cultivation. So he resolved to stop at this port, and see if he could have any speech or intercourse with the inhabitants. It was so that, if the Admiral had praised the other havens, he

[*] The port of Baracoa.— N.

[†] Monte del Yunque.— N.

[‡] Port of Maravi.— N.

[§] Punta de Maici.— N.

[||] Puerto de Baracoa.— N.

must praise this still more for its lands, climate, and people. He tells marvels of the beauty of the country and of the trees, there being palms and pine trees; and also of the great valley, which is not flat, but diversified by hill and dale, the most lovely scene in the world. Many streams flow from it, which fall from the mountains.

As soon as the ship was at anchor the Admiral jumped into the boat, to get soundings in the port, which is the shape of a hammer. When he was facing the entrance he found the mouth of a river on the south side of sufficient width for a galley to enter it, but so concealed that it is not visible until close to. Entering it for the length of the boat, there was a depth of from 5 to 8 fathoms. In passing up it the freshness and beauty of the trees, the clearness of the water, and the birds, made it all so delightful that he wished never to leave them. He said to the men who were with him that to give a true relation to the Sovereigns of the things they had seen, a thousand tongues would not suffice, nor his hand to write it, for that it was like a scene of enchantment. He desired that many other prudent and credible witnesses might see it, and he was sure that they would be as unable to exaggerate the scene as he was.

The Admiral also says: "How great the benefit that is to be derived from this country would be, I cannot say. It is certain that where there are such lands there must be an infinite number of things that would be profitable. But I did not remain long in one port, because I wished to see as much of the country as possible, in order to make a report upon it to your Highnesses; and, besides, I do not know the language, and these people neither understand me nor any other in my company; while the Indians I have on board often misunderstand. Moreover, I have not been able to see much of the natives, because they often take to flight. But now, if our Lord pleases, I will see as much as possible, and will proceed by little and little, learning and comprehending; and I will make some of my followers learn the language. For I have perceived that there is only one language up to this point. After they understand the advantages, I shall labour to make all these people Christians. They will become so readily, because they have no religion nor idolatry, and your Highnesses will send orders to build a city and fortress, and to convert the people. I assure your Highnesses that it does not appear to me that there can be a more fertile country nor a better climate under the sun, with abundant supplies of water. This is not like the rivers of Guinea, which are all pestilential. I thank our Lord that, up to this time, there has not been a person of my company who has so much as had a headache, or been in bed from illness, except an old man who has suffered from the stone all his life, and he was well again in two days. I speak of all three vessels. If it will please God that your Highnesses should send learned men out here, they will see the truth of all I have said. I have related already how good a place *Rio de Mares* would be for a town and fortress, and this is perfectly true; but it bears no comparison with this place, nor with the *Mar de Nuestra Señora.* For here there must be a large population, and very valuable productions, which I hope to discover before I return to Castille. I say that, if Christendom will find profit among these people, how much more will Spain, to whom the whole country should be subject. Your Highnesses ought not to consent that any stranger should trade here, or put his foot in the country, except Catholic Christians, for this was the beginning and end of the undertaking; namely, the increase and glory of the Christian religion, and that no one should come to these parts who was not a good Christian."

All the above are the Admiral's words. He ascended the river for some distance, examined some branches of it, and. returning to the mouth, he found some pleasant groves of trees, like a delightful orchard. Here he came upon a canoe, dug out of one tree, as big as a galley of twelve benches, fastened under a boat-house made of wood, and thatched with palm-leaves, so that it could be neither injured by sun nor by the water. He says that here would be the proper site for a town and fort, by reason of the good port, good water, good land, and abundance of fuel.

Wednesday, 28th of November.— The Admiral remained during this day, in consequence of the rain and thick weather, though he might have run along the coast, the wind being S.W., but he did not weigh, because he was unacquainted with the coast beyond, and did not know what danger there might be for the vessels. The sailors of the two vessels went on shore to wash their clothes, and some of them walked inland for a short distance. They found indications of a large population, but the houses were all empty, every one having fled. They returned by the banks of another river, larger than that which they knew of, at the port.

Thursday, 27th of November.— The rain and thick weather continuing, the Admiral did not get under weigh. Some of the Christians went to another village to the N.W., but found no one, and nothing in the houses. On the road they met an old man who could not run away, and caught him. They told him they did not wish to do him any harm, gave him a few presents, and let him go. The Admiral would have liked to have had speech with him, for he was exceedingly satisfied with the delights of that land, and wished that a settlement might be formed there, judging that it must support a large population. In one house they found a cake of wax, which was taken to the Sovereigns, the Admiral saying that where there was wax there were also a thousand other good things. The sailors also found, in one house, the head of a man in a basket, covered with another basket, and fastened to a post of the house. They found the same things in another village. The Admiral believed that they must be the heads of some founder, or principal ancestor of a lineage, for the houses are built to contain a great number of people in each; and these should be relations, and descendants of a common ancestor.

Friday, 30th of November.— They could not get under weigh to-day because the wind was east, and dead against them. The Admiral sent 8 men well armed, accompanied by two of the Indians he had on board, to examine the villages inland, and get speech with the people. They came to many houses, but found no one and nothing, all having fled. They saw four youths who were digging in their fields, but, as soon as they saw the Christians, they ran away, and could not be overtaken. They marched a long distance, and saw many villages and a most fertile land, with much cultivation and many streams of water. Near one river they saw a canoe dug out of a single tree, 95 *palmos* long, and capable of carrying 150 persons.

Saturday, 1st of December.— They did not depart, because there was still a foul wind, with much rain. The Admiral set up a cross at the entrance of this port, which he called *Puerto Santo*,* on some bare rocks. The point is that which is on the S.E. side of the entrance; but he who has to enter should make more over to the N.W.; for at the foot of both, near the rock, there are 12 fathoms and a very clean bottom. At the entrance of the port, towards the S.E. point, there is a reef of rocks above water,* sufficiently far from the shore to be able to pass between if it is necessary; for both on the side of the rock and the shore there is a depth of 12 to 15 fathoms; and on entering, a ship's head should be turned S.W.

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* Puerto de Baracoa.— N.

Sunday, 2nd of December.— The wind was still contrary, and they could not depart. Every night the wind blows on the land, but no vessel need be alarmed at all the gales in the world, for they cannot blow home by reason of a reef of rocks at the opening to the haven.† A sailor-boy found, at the mouth of the river, some stones which looked as if they contained gold; so they were taken to be shown to the Sovereigns. The Admiral says that there are great rivers at the distance of a lombard-shot.

Monday, 3rd of December.— By reason of the continuance of an easterly wind the Admiral did not leave this port. He arranged to visit a very beautiful headland a quarter of a league to the S.E. of the anchorage. He went with the boats and some armed men. At the foot of the cape there was the mouth of a fair river, and on entering it they found the width to be a hundred paces, with a depth of one fathom. Inside they found 12, 5, 4, and 2 fathoms, so that it would hold all the ships there are in Spain. Leaving the river, they came to a cove in which were five very large canoes, so well constructed that it was a pleasure to look at them. They were under spreading trees, and a path led from them to a very well-built boat-house, so thatched that neither sun nor rain could do any harm. Within it there was another canoe made out of a single tree like the others, like a galley with 17 benches. It was a pleasant sight to look upon such goodly work. The Admiral ascended a mountain, and afterward found the country level, and cultivated with many things of that land, including such calabashes, as it was a glory to look upon them. In the middle there was a large village, and they came upon the people suddenly; but, as soon as they were seen, men and women took to flight. The Indian from on board, who was with the Admiral, cried out to them that they need not be afraid, as the strangers were good people. The Admiral made him give them bells, copper ornaments, and glass beads, green and yellow, with which they were well content. He saw that they had no gold, nor any other precious thing, and that it would suffice to leave them in peace. The whole district was well peopled, the rest having fled from fear. The Admiral assures the Sovereigns that ten thousand of these men would run from ten, so cowardly and timid are they. No arms are carried by them, except wands, on the point of which a short piece of wood is fixed, hardened by fire, and these they are very ready to exchange. Returning to where he had left the boats, he sent back some men up the hill, because he fancied he had seen a large apiary. Before those he had sent could return, they were joined by many Indians, and they went to the boats, where the Admiral was waiting with all his people. One of the natives advanced into the river near the stern of the boat, and made a long speech which the Admiral did not understand. At intervals the other Indians raised their hands to heaven, and shouted. The Admiral thought he was assuring him that he was pleased at his arrival; but he saw the Indian who came from the ship change the colour of his face, and turn as yellow as wax, trembling much, and letting the Admiral know by signs that he should leave the river, as they were going to kill him. He pointed to a cross-bow which one of the Spaniards had, and showed it to the Indians, and the Admiral let it be understood that they would all be slain, because that cross-bow carried far and killed people. He also took a sword and drew it out of the sheath, showing it to them, and saying the same, which, when they had heard, they all took to flight; while the Indian from the ship still trembled from cowardice, though he was a tall, strong man. The Admiral did not want to leave the river, but pulled toward the place where the natives had assembled in great numbers, all painted, and as naked as when their mothers bore them. Some had tufts of feathers on their heads, and all had their bundles of darts.

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* This reef actually exists on the S.E. side of the entrance to this port, which is described with great accuracy by Columbus.— N.

† Here Las Casas puts "&c.," evidently omitting some valuable sailing directions.

The Admiral says: "I came to them, and gave them some mouthfuls of bread, asking for the darts, for which I gave in exchange copper ornaments, bells, and glass beads. This made them peaceable, so that they came to the boats again, and gave us what they had. The sailors had killed a turtle, and the shell was in the boat in pieces. The sailor-boys gave them some in exchange for a bundle of darts. These are like the other people we have seen, and with the same belief that we came from heaven. They are ready to give whatever thing they have in exchange for any trifle without saying it is little; and I believe they would do the same with gold and spices if they had any. I saw a fine house, not very large, and with two doors, as all the rest have. On entering, I saw a marvellous work, there being rooms made in a peculiar way, that I scarcely know how to describe it. Shells and other things were fastened to the ceiling. I thought it was a temple, and I called them and asked, by signs, whether prayers were offered up there. They said that they were not, and one of them climbed up and offered me all the things that were there, of which I took some."

Tuesday, 4th of December.—The Admiral made sail with little wind, and left that port, which he called *Puerto Santo.* After going two leagues, he saw the great river* of which he spoke yesterday. Passing along the land, and beating to windward on S.E. and W.N.W. courses, they reached *Cabo Lindo*,† which is E.S.E. 5 leagues from *Cabo del Monte.* A league and a half from *Cabo del Monte* there is an important but rather narrow river, which seemed to have a good entrance, and to be deep. Three-quarters of a league further on, the Admiral saw another very large river, and he thought it must have its source at a great distance. It had a hundred paces at its mouth, and no bar, with a depth of 8 fathoms. The Admiral sent the boat in, to take soundings, and they found the water fresh until it enters the sea.

This river had great volume, and must have a large population on its banks. Beyond *Cabo Lindo* there is a great bay, which would be open for navigation to E.N.E. and S.E. and S.S.W.

Wednesday, 5th of December.—All this night they were beating to windward off *Cape Lindo*, to reach the land to the east, and at sunrise the Admiral sighted another cape,‡ two and a half leagues to the east. Having passed it, he saw that the land trended S. and S.W., and presently saw a fine high cape in that direction, 7 leagues distant.§ He would have wished to go there, but his object was to reach the island of Babeque, which, according to the Indians, bore N.E.; so he gave up the intention. He could not go to Babeque either, because the wind was N.E.* Looking to the S.E., he saw land, which was a very large island, according to the information of the Indians, well peopled, and called by them *Bohio*,† The Admiral says that the inhabitants of Cuba, or Juana,‡ and of all the other islands. are much afraid of the inhabitants of Bohio, because they say that they eat people. The Indians relate other things, by signs, which are very wonderful; but the Admiral did not believe them. He only inferred that those of Bohio must have more cleverness and cunning to be able to capture the others, who, however, are very poor-spirited. The wind veered from N.E. to North, so the Admiral determined to leave Cuba, or Juana, which, up to this time, he had supposed to be the mainland, on account of its size, having coasted along it for 120 leagues.§

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* Rio Boma.—N.

† Punta del Fraile.—N.

‡ Punta de los Azules.—N.

§ The eastern end of Cuba, called *Punta del Maici.*—N. Las Casas says that Punta del Maici was not the extreme point. It was the point named by the Admiral "Cabo de Cuba." He must be correct, for he had the chart drawn by the Admiral himself, in his possession. The Admiral named the extreme east point of Cuba "Alpha et Omega"; and Las Casas says that in his time it had the native name of "Punta de Bayatiquiri."

COLUMBUS ON THE SOUTH COAST OF CUBA.

From Irving's Account of the Second Voyage, 1494.

Animated by one of the pleasing illusions of his ardent imagination, Columbus pursued his voyage, with a prosperous breeze, along the supposed continent of Asia. He was now opposite to that part of the southern side of Cuba where, for nearly thirty-five leagues, the navigation is unembarrassed by banks and islands. To his left was the broad and open sea, whose dark blue color gave token of ample depth; to his right extended the richly wooded province of Ornofay, gradually sweeping up into a range of interior mountains; the verdant coast watered by innumerable streams, and studded with Indian villages. The appearance of the ships spread wonder and joy along the seaboard. The natives hailed with acclamations the arrival on their shores of these wonderful beings, whose fame had circulated more or less throughout the island, and who brought with them the blessings of the skies. They came off swimming, or in their canoes, to offer the fruits and productions of the land, and regarded the white men almost with adoration. After the usual evening shower, when the breeze blew from the shore, and brought off the sweetness of the land, it bore with it also the distant songs of the natives, and the sound of their rude music, as they were probably celebrating, with their national chants and dances, the arrival of the white men. So delightful were these spicy odors and cheerful sounds to Columbus, who was at present open to all pleasurable influences, that he declared the night passed away as a single hour. . . .

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* Babeque is a name that does not occur again. Probably its use by the Admiral arose from some word that had been misunderstood.

† Hayti, or Española. The name Bohio is a mistake (*Las Casas*).

‡ The Admiral gave the name of Juana to Cuba, in honour of Prince Juan, only son of Ferdinand and Isabella.

§ "I found it so large that I thought it must be the mainland — the province of Cathay" (*Letter to Santangel*). Further on he says: "I learnt from Indians whom I seized, that their land was certainly an island" (*Ibid.*). But he remained in doubt.

The information derived from these people concerning the coast to the westward was entirely vague. They said that it continued for at least twenty days' journey, but whether it terminated there they did not know. . . .

For several days Columbus continued exploring this perplexed and lonely coast. . . . As he proceeded, however, he found that the coast took a general bend to the south-west. This accorded precisely with the descriptions given by Marco Polo of the remote coast of Asia. He now became fully assured that he was on that part of the Asiatic continent which lies beyond the boundaries of the old world, as laid down by Ptolemy. He had but to continue on, to arrive before long to where this range of coast towards the south-west terminated in the Aurea Chersonesus of the ancients.

The ardent imagination of Columbus was always sallying in the advance, and suggesting some splendid track of enterprise. Combining his present conjectures as to his situation with the imperfect lights of geography, he conceived a triumphant route for his return to Spain. Doubling the Aurea Chersonesus, he should emerge into the seas frequented by the ancients, and bordered by the luxurious nations of the east. Stretching across the gulf of the Ganges, he might pass by Trapoban, and, continuing on to the straits of Babelmandel, arrive on the shores of the Red Sea. From thence he might make his way by land to Jerusalem, take shipping at Joppa, and traverse the Mediterranean to Spain. Or should the route from Ethiopia to Jerusalem be deemed too perilous from savage and warlike tribes, or should he not choose to separate from his vessels, he might sail round the whole coast of Africa, pass triumphantly by the Portuguese, in their midway groping along the shores of Guinea, and, after having thus circumnavigated the globe, furl his adventurous sails at the pillars of Hercules, the ne plus ultra of the ancient world! Such was the soaring meditation of Columbus, as recorded by one of his intimate associates.

"The Journal of Columbus," says Mr. Clements R. Markham, the president of the Hakluyt Society, in the introduction to his critical edition of the *Journal of Columbus during his First Voyage*, "is the most important document in the whole range of the history of geographical discovery, because it is a record of the enterprise which changed the whole face, not only of that history, but of the history of mankind." The Journal covered the whole period of the first voyage, from Aug. 3, 1492, when Columbus sailed from Palos, to March 15, 1493, when he arrived in Spain upon his return. There was a prologue, addressed to the king and queen, in which he wrote: "As part of my duty, I thought it well to write an account of all the voyage very punctually, noting from day to day all that I should do and see and that should happen. I resolved to describe each night what passed in the day, and to know each day how I navigated." The Journal was duly forwarded to Ferdinand and Isabella; but it is now lost. It was used by Ferdinand Columbus in his *Life of Columbus;* and his version is in places more full than that of Las Casas, appearing to be copied word for word. Las Casas had access to the Journal when he wrote his history, and gives a very full abstract, which was printed by Navarrete in 1825. The prologue, or covering letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, is given in full. The rest is an abstract of the entries of each day; but there are long and frequent quotations, word for word, which are shown by the phrases, "The Admiral says," or "These are the Admiral's words."

"It must be remembered," says Markham, "that the letter of Toscanelli was his guide, and that the gold, pearls, and spices were the marks by which he was to know the provinces of the great Kaan, so that he was bound to make constant inquiries for these commodities. This search, however, only occupied part of his thoughts. Nothing seems to escape his observation. The feature which comes out most prominently is his enthusiastic admiration of scenery and of the natural beauties of the strange land. The Journal is a mirror of the man. It shows his failings and his virtues. It records his lofty aims, his unswerving loyalty, his deep religious feeling, his kindliness and gratitude. It impresses us with his knowledge and genius as a leader, with his watchful care of his people, and with the richness of his imagination. Few will read the Journal without a feeling of admiration for the marvellous ability and simple faith of the great genius whose mission it was to reveal the mighty secret of the ages."

It was on the 12th of October, 1492, that Columbus landed on San Salvador. He continued to cruise among the Bahamas for a fortnight, hearing from the natives about a great and wonderful island to the south, which they called Cuba, and which he believed must be the Cipango (Japan) described by Marco Polo. "On the spheres [the globe of Martin Behaim, made in 1492] I saw, and on the delineations of the map of the world [the map of Toscanelli], Cipango is in this region." On Saturday evening, October 27, Cuba was sighted; and Columbus spent nearly six weeks in exploring the north-eastern coast, sailing from the eastern point for Hayti, December 6. The portion of his Journal which gives the account of the discovery and exploration of the historic and beautiful island, which has now come into such close relations with the United States, is given in the present leaflet. In these pages we see Cuba through the first European eyes to which it was revealed.

The best edition of the Journal of Columbus is that prepared by Markham, and published by the Hukluyt Society. It is from this that the present leaflet is taken. The translation is from the text of Navarrete. An earlier translation by Samuel Kettell was published in Boston in 1827. In the present leaflet the foot-notes marked N. are by Navarrete: the others are by Markham.

On his second voyage, Columbus touched Cuba again, exploring the southern coast for a great distance, and becoming convinced at last that it was the mainland of Asia. The interesting accounts of this exploration are well summarized by Irving in his *Life of Columbus ;* and a brief selection from this summary is given in the present leaflet. Irving here follows Bernaldez. Andrez Bernaldez, generally known by the title of the *Cura de los Palacios*, was a friend of Columbus, who in 1496 left many of his manuscripts with him, which the curate made use of in an account of the voyages of Columbus. This account gives the most accurate description of the Admiral's sailing along the southern side of Cuba, on the second voyage, in 1494.

In the series of Old South Leaflets there have already been printed three valuable Columbus leaflets: The Discovery of America, from the *Life of Columbus* by his son Ferdinand Columbus (No. 29); Columbus's Letter to Gabriel Sanchez, describing the first voyage and discovery (No. 33); and Columbus's Memorial to Ferdinand and Isabella, sent from the new "city" of Isabella in Hayti in 1494.

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SICUT PATRIBUS SIT DEUS NOBIS

Old South Leaflets.

No. 103.

John Adams's Inaugural.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS AT PHILADELPHIA, MARCH 4, 1797.

When it was first perceived, in early times, that no middle course for America remained between unlimited submission to a foreign legislature and a total independence of its claims, men of reflection were less apprehensive of danger from the formidable power of fleets and armies they must determine to resist than from those contests and dissensions which would certainly arise concerning the forms of government to be instituted over the whole and over the parts of this extensive country. Relying, however, on the purity of their intentions, the justice of their cause, and the integrity and intelligence of the people, under an overruling Providence which had so signally protected this country from the first, the representatives of this nation, then consisting of little more than half its present number, not only broke to pieces the chains which were forging and the rod of iron that was lifted up, but frankly cut asunder the ties which had bound them, and launched into an ocean of uncertainty.

The zeal and ardor of the people during the Revolutionary War, supplying the place of government, commanded a degree of order sufficient at least for the temporary preservation of society. The Confederation which was early felt to be necessary was prepared from the models of the Batavian and Helvetic confederacies, the only examples which remain with any detail and precision in history, and certainly the only ones which the people at large had ever considered. But, reflecting on the striking difference in so many particulars between this country and those where a courier may go from the seat of government to the frontier in a single day, it was then certainly foreseen by some who assisted in Congress at the formation of it that it could not be durable.

Negligence of its regulations, inattention to its recommendations, if not disobedience to its authority, not only in individuals but in States, soon appeared with their melancholy consequences,— universal languor, jealousies and rivalries of States, decline of navigation and commerce, discouragement of necessary manufactures, universal fall in the value of lands and their produce, contempt of public and private faith, loss of consideration and credit with foreign nations, and at length in discontents, animosities, combinations, partial conventions, and insurrection, threatening some great national calamity.

In this dangerous crisis the people of America were not abandoned by their usual good sense, presence of mind, resolution, or integrity. Measures were pursued to concert a plan to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty. The public disquisitions, discussions, and deliberations issued in the present happy Constitution of Government.

Employed in the service of my country abroad during the whole course of these transactions, I first saw the Constitution of the United States in a foreign country. Irritated by no literary altercation, animated by no public debate, heated by no party animosity, I read it with great satisfaction, as the result of good heads prompted by good hearts, as an experiment better adapted to the genius, character, situation, and relations of this nation and country than any which had ever been proposed or suggested. In its general principles and great outlines it was conformable to such a system of government as I had ever most esteemed, and in some States, my own native State in particular, had contributed to establish. Claiming a right of suffrage, in common with my fellow-citizens, in the adoption or rejection of a constitution which was to rule me and my posterity, as well as them and theirs, I did not hesitate to express my approbation of it on all occasions, in public and in private. It was not then, nor has been since, any objection to it in my mind that the Executive and Senate were not more permanent. Nor have I ever entertained a thought of promoting any alteration in it but such as the people themselves, in the course of their experience, should see and feel to be necessary or expedient, and by their representatives in Congress and the State legislatures, according to the Constitution itself, adopt and ordain.

Returning to the bosom of my country after a painful separation from it for ten years, I had the honor to be elected to a station under the new order of things; and I have repeatedly laid myself under the most serious obligations to support the Constitution. The operation of it has equalled the most sanguine expectations of its friends; and from an habitual attention to it, satisfaction in its administration, and delight in its effects upon the peace, order, prosperity, and happiness of the nation I have acquired an habitual attachment to it and veneration for it.

What other form of government, indeed, can so well deserve our esteem and love?

There may be little solidity in an ancient idea that congregations of men into cities and nations are the most pleasing objects in the sight of superior intelligences; but this is very certain, that to a benevolent human mind there can be no spectacle presented by any nation more pleasing, more noble, majestic, or august, than an assembly like that which has so often been seen in this and the other Chamber of Congress, of a Government in which the Executive authority, as well as that of all the branches of the Legislature, are exercised by citizens selected at regular periods by their neighbors to make and execute laws for the general good. Can anything essential, anything more than mere ornament and decoration, be added to this by robes and diamonds? Can authority be more amiable and respectable when it descends from accidents or institutions established in remote antiquity than when it springs fresh from the hearts and judgments of an honest and enlightened people? For it is the people only that are represented. It is their power and majesty that is reflected, and only for their good, in every legitimate government, under whatever form it may appear. The existence of such a government as ours for any length of time is a full proof of a general dissemination of knowledge and virtue throughout the whole body of the people. And what object or consideration more pleasing than this can be presented to the human mind? If national pride is ever justifiable or excusable, it is when it springs, not from power or riches, grandeur or glory, but from conviction of national innocence, information, and benevolence.

In the midst of these pleasing ideas we should be unfaithful to ourselves if we should ever lose sight of the danger to our liberties, if anything partial or extraneous should infect the purity of our free, fair, virtuous, and independent elections. If an election is to be determined by a majority of a single vote, and that can be procured by a party through artifice or corruption, the Government may be the choice of a party for its own ends, not of the nation for the national good. If that solitary suffrage can be obtained by foreign nations by flattery or menaces, by fraud or violence, by terror, intrigue, or venality, the Government may not be the choice of the American people, but of foreign nations. It may be foreign nations who govern us, and not we, the people, who govern ourselves; and candid men will acknowledge that in such cases choice would have little advantage to boast of over lot or chance.

Such is the amiable and interesting system of government (and such are some of the abuses to which it may be exposed) which the people of America have exhibited to the admiration and anxiety of the wise and virtuous of all nations for eight years under the administration of a citizen who, by a long course of great actions, regulated by prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude, conducting a people inspired with the same virtues and animated with the same ardent patriotism and love of liberty to independence and peace, to increasing wealth and unexampled prosperity, has merited the gratitude of his fellow-citizens, commanded the highest praises of foreign nations, and secured immortal glory with posterity.

In that retirement which is his voluntary choice may he long live to enjoy the delicious recollection of his services, the gratitude of mankind, the happy fruits of them to himself and the world, which are daily increasing, and that splendid prospect of the future fortunes of this country which is opening from year to year. His name may be still a rampart, and the knowledge that he lives a bulwark, against all open or secret enemies of his country's peace. This example has been recommended to the imitation of his successors by both Houses of Congress and by the voice of the legislatures and the people throughout the nation.

On this subject it might become me better to be silent or to speak with diffidence; but, as something may be expected, the occasion, I hope, will be admitted as an apology if I venture to say that, if a preference, upon principle, of a free republican government, formed upon long and serious reflection, after a diligent and impartial inquiry after truth; if an attachment to the Constitution of the United States, and a conscientious determination to support it until it shall be altered by the judgments and wishes of the people, expressed in the mode prescribed in it; if a respectful attention to the constitutions of the individual States and a constant caution and delicacy toward the State governments; if an equal and impartial regard to the rights, interest, honor, and happiness of all the States in the Union, without preference or regard to a northern or southern, an eastern or western, position, their various political opinions on unessential points or their personal attachments; if a love of virtuous men of all parties and denominations; if a love of science and letters and a wish to patronize every rational effort to encourage schools, colleges, universities, academies, and every institution for propagating knowledge, virtue, and religion among all classes of the people, not only for their benign influence on the happiness of life in all its stages and classes, and of society in all its forms, but as the only means of preserving our Constitution from its natural enemies, the spirit of sophistry, the spirit of party, the spirit of intrigue, the profligacy of corruption, and the pestilence of foreign influence, which is the angel of destruction to elective governments; if a love of equal laws, of justice, and humanity in the interior administration; if an inclination to improve agriculture, commerce, and manufactures for necessity, convenience, and defence; if a spirit of equity and humanity toward the aboriginal nations of America, and a disposition to meliorate their condition by inclining them to be more friendly to us, and our citizens to be more friendly to them; if an inflexible determination to maintain peace and inviolable faith with all nations, and that system of neutrality and impartiality among the belligerent powers of Europe which has been adopted by this Government and so solemnly sanctioned by both Houses of Congress and applauded by the legislatures of the States and the public opinion, until it shall be otherwise ordained by Congress; if a personal esteem for the French nation, formed in a residence of seven years chiefly among them, and a sincere desire to preserve the friendship which has been so much for the honor and interest of both nations; if, while the conscious honor and integrity of the people of America and the internal sentiment of their own power and energies must be preserved, an earnest endeavor to investigate every just cause and remove every colorable pretence of complaint; if an intention to pursue by amicable negotiation a reparation for the injuries that have been committed on the commerce of our fellow-citizens by whatever nation, and if success cannot be obtained, to lay the facts before the Legislature, that they may consider what further measures the honor and interest of the Government and its constituents demand; if a resolution to do justice as far as may depend upon me, at all times and to all nations, and maintain peace, friendship, and benevolence with all the world; if an unshaken confidence in the honor, spirit, and resources of the American people, on which I have so often hazarded my all and never been deceived; if elevated ideas of the high destinies of this country and of my own duties toward it, founded on a knowledge of the moral principles and intellectual improvements of the people deeply engraven on my mind in early life, and not obscured, but exalted by experience and age; and, with humble reverence, I feel it to be my duty to add, if a veneration for the religion of a people who profess and call themselves Christians, and a fixed resolution to consider a decent respect for Christianity among the best recommendations for the public service, can enable me in any degree to comply with your wishes, it shall be my strenuous endeavor that this sagacious injunction of the two Houses shall not be without effect.

With this great example before me, with the sense and spirit, the faith and honor, the duty and interest, of the same American people pledged to support the Constitution of the United States, I entertain no doubt of its continuance in all its energy; and my mind is prepared without hesitation to lay myself under the most solemn obligations to support it to the utmost of my power.

And may that Being who is supreme over all, the Patron of Order, the Fountain of Justice, and the Protector in all ages of the world of virtuous liberty, continue His blessing upon this nation and its Government and give it all possible success and duration consistent with the ends of His providence.

PRESIDENT ADAMS'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS AT THE SPECIAL SESSION, MAY 16, 1797.

Gentlemen of the Senate and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

The personal inconveniences to the members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives in leaving their families and private affairs at this season of the year are so obvious that I the more regret the extraordinary occasion which has rendered the convention of Congress indispensable.

It would have afforded me the highest satisfaction to have been able to congratulate you on a restoration of peace to the nations of Europe, whose animosities have endangered our tranquillity; but we have still abundant cause of gratitude to the Supreme Dispenser of National Blessings for general health and promising seasons, for domestic and social happiness, for the rapid progress and ample acquisitions of industry through extensive territories, for civil, political, and religious liberty. While other states are desolated with foreign war or convulsed with intestine divisions, the United States present the pleasing prospect of a nation governed by mild and equal laws, generally satisfied with the possession of their rights, neither envying the advantages nor fearing the power of other nations, solicitous only for the maintenance of order and justice and the preservation of liberty, increasing daily in their attachment to a system of government in proportion to their experience of its utility, yielding a ready and general obedience to laws flowing from the reason and resting on the only solid foundation,— the affections of the people.

It is with extreme regret that I shall be obliged to turn your thoughts to other circumstances, which admonish us that some of these felicities may not be lasting. But, if the tide of our prosperity is full and a reflux commencing, a vigilant circumspection becomes us, that we may meet our reverses with fortitude and extricate ourselves from their consequences with all the skill we possess and all the efforts in our power.

In giving to Congress information of the state of the Union and recommending to their consideration such measures as appear to me to be necessary or expedient, according to my constitutional duty, the causes and the objects of the present extraordinary session will be explained.

After the President of the United States received information that the French Government had expressed serious discontents at some proceedings of the Government of these States said to affect the interests of France, he thought it expedient to send to that country a new minister, fully instructed to enter on such amicable discussions and to give such candid explanations as might happily remove the discontents and suspicions of the French Government and vindicate the conduct of the United States. For this purpose he selected from among his fellow-citizens a character whose integrity, talents, experience, and services had placed him in the rank of the most esteemed and respected in the nation. The direct object of his mission was expressed in his letter of credence to the French Republic, being "to maintain that good understanding which from the commencement of the alliance had subsisted between the two nations, and to efface unfavorable impressions, banish suspicions, and restore that cordiality which was at once the evidence and pledge of a friendly union." And his instructions were to the same effect, "faithfully to represent the disposition of the Government and people of the United States (their disposition being one), to remove jealousies and obviate complaints by shewing that they were groundless, to restore that mutual confidence which had been so unfortunately and injuriously impaired, and to explain the relative interests of both countries and the real sentiments of his own."

A minister thus specially commissioned, it was expected, would have proved the instrument of restoring mutual confidence between the two Republics. The first step of the French Government corresponded with that expectation. A few days before his arrival at Paris the French minister of foreign relations informed the American minister then resident at Paris of the formalities to be observed by himself in taking leave, and by his successor preparatory to his reception. These formalities they observed, and on the 9th of December presented officially to the minister of foreign relations, the one a copy of his letters of recall, the other a copy of his letters of credence.

These were laid before the Executive Directory. Two days afterwards the minister of foreign relations informed the recalled American minister that the Executive Directory had determined not to receive another minister plenipotentiary from the United States until after the redress of grievances demanded of the American Government, and which the French Republic had a right to expect from it. The American minister immediately endeavored to ascertain whether by refusing to receive him it was intended that he should retire from the territories of the French Republic, and verbal answers were given that such was the intention of the Directory. For his own justification he desired a written answer, but obtained none until toward the last of January, when, receiving notice in writing to quit the territories of the Republic, he proceeded to Amsterdam, where he proposed to wait for instruction from this Government. During his residence at Paris cards of hospitality were refused him, and he was threatened with being subjected to the jurisdiction of the minister of police; but with becoming firmness he insisted on the protection of the law of nations due to him as the known minister of a foreign power. You will derive further information from his despatches, which will be laid before you.

As it is often necessary that nations should treat for the mutual advantage of their affairs, and especially to accommodate and terminate differences, and as they can treat only by ministers, the right of embassy is well known and established by the law and usage of nations. The refusal on the part of France to receive our minister is, then, the denial of a right; but the refusal to receive him until we have acceded to their demands without discussion and without investigation is to treat us neither as allies nor as friends, nor as a sovereign state.

With this conduct of the French Government it will be proper to take into view the public audience given to the late minister of the United States on his taking leave of the Executive Directory. The speech of the President discloses sentiments more alarming than the refusal of a minister, because more dangerous to our independence and union, and at the same time studiously marked with indignities toward the Government of the United States. It evinces a disposition to separate the people of the United States from the Government, to persuade them that they have different affections, principles, and interests from those of their fellow-citizens whom they themselves have chosen to manage their common concerns, and thus to produce divisions fatal to our peace. Such attempts ought to be repelled with a decision which shall convince France and the world that we are not a degraded people, humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear and sense of inferiority, fitted to be the miserable instruments of foreign influence, and regardless of national honor, character, and interest.

I should have been happy to have thrown a veil over these transactions if it had been possible to conceal them; but they have passed on the great theatre of the world, in the face of all Europe and America, and with such circumstances of publicity and solemnity that they cannot be disguised and will not soon be forgotten. They have inflicted a wound in the American breast. It is my sincere desire, however, that it may be healed.

It is my sincere desire, and in this I presume I concur with you and with our constituents, to preserve peace and friendship with all nations; and believing that neither the honor nor the interest of the United States absolutely forbid the repetition of advances for securing these desirable objects with France, I shall institute a fresh attempt at negotiation, and shall not fail to promote and accelerate an accommodation on terms compatible with the rights, duties, interests, and honor of the nation. If we have committed errors, and these can be demonstrated, we shall be willing to correct them; if we have done injuries, we shall be willing on conviction to redress them; and equal measures of justice we have a right to expect from France and every other nation.

The diplomatic intercourse between the United States and France being at present suspended, the Government has no means of obtaining official information from that country. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the Executive Directory passed a decree on the 2d of March last contravening in part the treaty of amity and commerce of 1778, injurious to our lawful commerce and endangering the lives of our citizens. A copy of this decree will be laid before you.

While we are endeavoring to adjust all our differences with France by amicable negotiation, the progress of the war in Europe, with depredations on our commerce, the personal injuries to our citizens, and the general complexion of affairs render it my indispensable duty to recommend to your consideration effectual measures of defence.

The commerce of the United States has become an interesting object of attention, whether we consider it in relation to the wealth and finances or the strength and resources of the nation. With a seacoast of near 2,000 miles in extent, opening a wide field for fisheries, navigation, and commerce, a great portion of our citizens naturally apply their industry and enterprise to these objects. Any serious and permanent injury to commerce would not fail to produce the most embarrassing disorders. To prevent it from being undermined and destroyed, it is essential that it receive an adequate protection.

The naval establishment must occur to every man who considers the injuries committed on our commerce, the insults offered to our citizens, and the description of vessels by which these abuses have been practised. As the sufferings of our mercantile and seafaring citizens cannot be ascribed to the omission of duties demandable, considering the neutral situation of our country, they are to be attributed to the hope of impunity arising from a supposed inability on our part to afford protection. To resist the consequences of such impressions on the minds of foreign nations and to guard against the degradation and servility which they must finally stamp on the American character is an important duty of government.

A naval power, next to the militia, is the natural defence of the United States. The experience of the last war would be sufficient to shew that a moderate naval force, such as would be easily within the present abilities of the Union, would have been sufficient to have baffled many formidable transportations of troops from one State to another, which were then practised. Our seacoasts, from their great extent, are more easily annoyed and more easily defended by a naval force than any other. With all the materials our country abounds; in skill our naval architects and navigators are equal to any, and commanders and seamen will not be wanting.

But, although the establishment of a permanent system of naval defence appears to be requisite, I am sensible it cannot be formed so speedily and extensively as the present crisis demands. Hitherto I have thought proper to prevent the sailing of armed vessels except on voyages to the East Indies, where general usage and the danger from pirates appeared to render the permission proper. Yet the restriction has originated solely from a wish to prevent collisions with the powers at war, contravening the act of Congress of June, 1794, and not from any doubt entertained by me of the policy and propriety of permitting our vessels to employ means of defence while engaged in a lawful foreign commerce. It remains for Congress to prescribe such regulations as will enable our seafaring citizens to defend themselves against violations of the law of nations, and at the same time restrain them from committing acts of hostility against the powers at war. In addition to this voluntary provision for defence by individual citizens, it appears to me necessary to equip the frigates, and provide other vessels of inferior force, to take under convoy such merchant vessels as shall remain unarmed.

The greater part of the cruisers whose depredations have been most injurious have been built and some of them partially equipped in the United States. Although an effectual remedy may be attended with difficulty, yet I have thought it my duty to present the subject generally to your consideration. If a mode can be devised by the wisdom of Congress to prevent the resources of the United States from being converted into the means of annoying our trade, a great evil will be prevented. With the same view, I think it proper to mention that some of our citizens resident abroad have fitted out privateers, and others have voluntarily taken the command, or entered on board of them, and committed spoliations on the commerce of the United States. Such unnatural and iniquitous practices can be restrained only by severe punishments.

But, besides a protection of our commerce on the seas, I think it highly necessary to protect it at home, where it is collected in our most important ports. The distance of the United States from Europe and the well-known promptitude, ardor, and courage of the people in defence of their country happily diminish the probability of invasion. Nevertheless, to guard against sudden and predatory incursions, the situation of some of our principal seaports demands your consideration. And, as our country is vulnerable in other interests besides those of its commerce, you will seriously deliberate whether the means of general defence ought not to be increased by an addition to the regular artillery and cavalry, and by arrangements for forming a provisional army.

With the same view, and as a measure which, even in a time of universal peace, ought not to be neglected, I recommend to your consideration a revision of the laws for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, to render that natural and safe defence of the country efficacious.

Although it is very true that we ought not to involve ourselves in the political system of Europe, but to keep ourselves always distinct and separate from it if we can, yet to effect this separation, early, punctual, and continual information of the current chain of events and of the political projects in contemplation is no less necessary than if we were directly concerned in them. It is necessary, in order to the discovery of the efforts made to draw us into the vortex, in season to make preparations against them. However we may consider ourselves, the maritime and commercial powers of the world will consider the United States of America as forming a weight in that balance of power in Europe which never can be forgotten or neglected. It would not only be against our interest, but it would be doing wrong to one-half of Europe, at least, if we should voluntarily throw ourselves into either scale. It is a natural policy for a nation that studies to be neutral to consult with other nations engaged in the same studies and pursuits. At the same time that measures might be pursued with this view, our treaties with Prussia and Sweden, one of which is expired and the other near expiring, might be renewed.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

It is particularly your province to consider the state of the public finances, and to adopt such measures respecting them as exigencies shall be found to require. The preservation of public credit, the regular extinguishment of the public debt, and a provision of funds to defray any extraordinary expenses will of course call for your serious attention. Although the imposition of new burthens cannot be in itself agreeable, yet there is no ground to doubt that the American people will expect from you such measures as their actual engagements, their present security, and future interests demand.

Gentlemen of the Senate and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

The present situation of our country imposes an obligation on all the departments of Government to adopt an explicit and decided conduct. In my situation an exposition of the principles by which my Administration will be governed ought not to be omitted.

It is impossible to conceal from ourselves or the world what has been before observed, that endeavors have been employed to foster and establish a division between the Government and people of the United States. To investigate the causes which have encouraged this attempt is not necessary; but to repel, by decided and united councils, insinuations so derogatory to the honor and aggressions so dangerous to the Constitution, union, and even independence of the nation, is an indispensable duty.

It must not be permitted to be doubted whether the people of the United States will support the Government established by their voluntary consent and appointed by their free choice, or whether, by surrendering themselves to the direction of foreign and domestic factions, in opposition to their own Government, they will forfeit the honorable station they have hitherto maintained.

For myself, having never been indifferent to what concerned the interests of my country, devoted the best part of my life to obtain and support its independence, and constantly witnessed the patriotism, fidelity, and perseverance of my fellow-citizens on the most trying occasions, it is not for me to hesitate or abandon a cause in which my heart has been so long engaged.

Convinced that the conduct of the Government has been just and impartial to foreign nations, that those internal regulations which have been established by law for the preservation of peace are in their nature proper, and that they have been fairly executed, nothing will ever be done by me to impair the national engagements, to innovate upon principles which have been so deliberately and uprightly established, or to surrender in any manner the rights of the Government. To enable me to maintain this declaration, I rely, under God, with entire confidence on the firm and enlightened support of the National Legislature and upon the virtue and patriotism of my fellow-citizens.

The complete edition of the Works of John Adams, in ten volumes, edited in the most thorough and scholarly manner and accompanied by an admirable biography by Charles Francis Adams, furnishes us with the richest and most satisfying material for the study of John Adams's public services. This was prepared in 1856. In 1870 the biography, which occupied the first of these ten volumes, was revised, and published separately in two volumes. The briefer life in the "American Statesmen" series is by John T. Morse, Jr. The admirable essay by Mellen Chamberlain on "John Adams, the Statesman of the Revolution," surveys Adams's services only during the first period of his public life, not touching his Presidency. His election to the Presidency intensified the bitterness in France toward the United States which had been caused by the Jay treaty; and the relations became so strained that a special session of Congress was immediately called. As the questions growing out of this friction were the distinguishing features of Adams's administration, his message to Congress is included in the present leaflet. Charles Francis Adams justly characterizes it as "one of the most manly and dignified State papers that ever emanated from the American Executive." Of the inaugural he writes as follows:—

"Few efforts of the kind contain, within so narrow a compass, a more comprehensive view of a policy suitable for the chief magistrate of the United States, of any party. Not unaware of the rumors that had been sedulously spread against him, of his desire to alter the existing form of government and to introduce something which had 'an awful squinting to a monarchy,' and not insensible of the importance of putting an end to them by a frank denial, he seized the opportunity to express his entire satisfaction with the Constitution, as conformable to such a system of government as he had ever most esteemed, and in his own State had contributed to establish. Then, going to the root of these calumnies, he added the decisive words: 'It was not then, nor has been since, any objection to it in my mind, that the Executive and Senate were not more permanent. Nor have I entertained a thought of promoting any alterations in it but such as the people themselves, in the course of their experience, should see and feel to be necessary or expedient and, by their representatives in Congress and the State legislatures, according to the Constitution itself adopt and ordain.'

"Having thus removed the obstacles heretofore put in his way, he next declared the principles that should guide him for the future. With a high compliment to the administration as well as to the personal character of his predecessor, he proceeded to give, in one of the longest sentences in the language, his whole creed. Yet, long as it is, perhaps none was ever constructed by a statesman with less redundance to convey the same amount of meaning. After alluding to the general satisfaction felt with the course taken by Washington as a model for the imitation of his successors, he added these words: 'The occasion, I hope,' etc. [See passage in leaflet.] When deeply stirred by internal emotion, Mr. Adams's manner became grave and very impressive. Nothing short of this could have made the delivery of so elaborate a paragraph at all effective before a large audience. The next day he wrote to his wife, in his most natural and candid manner:—

"'Your dearest friend never had a more trying day than yesterday. A solemn scene it was, indeed; and it was made more affecting to me by the presence of the General, whose countenance was as serene and unclouded as the day. He seemed to me to enjoy a triumph over me. Methought I heard him say: "Ay! I am fairly out, and you fairly in! See which of us will be happiest." When the ceremony was over, he came and made me a visit, and cordially congratulated me and wished my administration might be happy, successful, and honorable. In the chamber of the House of Representatives was a multitude as great as the space could contain, and I believe scarcely a dry eye but Washington's. The sight of the sun setting full-orbed, and another rising, though less splendid, was a novelty. Chief Justice Ellsworth administered the oath, and with great energy. Judges Cushing, Wilson, and Iredell were present. Many ladies. I had not slept well the night before, and did not sleep well the night after. I was unwell, and did not know whether I should get through or not. I did, however. How the business was received I know not, only I have been told that Mason, the treaty publisher, said we should lose nothing by the change, for he never heard such a speech in public in his life. All agreed that, taken altogether, it was the sublimest thing ever exhibited in America.'"

"The fact is unquestionable that this speech was very well received by the public at large. Even the members of the opposition declared themselves relieved by it from much anxiety, and disposed to await further developments of the executive policy. Mr. Jefferson, on taking his post as Vice-President, had gone so far as to declare that the high functions of the first office had been 'justly confided' to Mr. Adams, and to deprecate any untoward event which should devolve the duties of it during his term of office upon himself. The only persons who manifested discontent were to be found among the Federalists sympathizing with Mr. Hamilton. They lamented its tone as temporizing. Their party feeling would have prompted a thorough demarcation of the line between themselves and the opposition, by the delineation of a policy which every man should be obliged to notice, and by the acceptance or rejection of which his own position should be unmistakably defined. The avoidance of this course in the address was ominous to them of the accession to the chair of a man who would not meet their expectations; and this suspicion other events, which soon came to their knowledge, had a strong tendency to confirm."

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No. 104.

Jefferson's Inaugurals.

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS AT WASHINGTON, MARCH 4, 1801.

Friends and Fellow-citizens:

Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow-citizens which is here assembled to express my grateful thanks for the favor with which they have been pleased to look toward me, to declare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments which the greatness of the charge and the weakness of my powers so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye,— when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair, did not the presence of many whom I here see remind me that in the other high authorities provided by our Constitution I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

During the contest of opinion through which we have passed, the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will of course arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that, though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us, then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety. But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong, that this Government is not strong enough; but would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm on the theoretic and visionary fear that this Government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest Government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own Federal and Republican principles, our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one-quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter,— with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens,— a wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our Government, and consequently those which ought to shape its Administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations: equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people,—a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burthened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and, should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

I repair, then, fellow-citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this the greatest of all, I have learnt to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station with the reputation and the favor which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose pre-eminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional, and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage is a great consolation to me for the past; and my future solicitude will be to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

Relying, then, on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choice it is in your power to make. And may that Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity.

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1805.

Proceeding, fellow-citizens, to that qualification which the Constitution requires before my entrance on the charge again conferred on me, it is my duty to express the deep sense I entertain of this new proof of confidence from my fellow-citizens at large, and the zeal with which it inspires me so to conduct myself as may best satisfy their just expectations.

On taking this station on a former occasion, I declared the principles on which I believed it my duty to administer the affairs of our Commonwealth. My conscience tells me I have on every occasion acted up to that declaration according to its obvious import and to the understanding of every candid mind.

In the transaction of your foreign affairs we have endeavored to cultivate the friendship of all nations, and especially of those with which we have the most important relations. We have done them justice on all occasions, favored where favor was lawful, and cherished mutual interests and intercourse on fair and equal terms. We are firmly convinced, and we act on that conviction, that with nations as with individuals our interests soundly calculated will ever be found inseparable from our moral duties, and history bears witness to the fact that a just nation is trusted on its word when recourse is had to armaments and wars to bridle others.

At home, fellow-citizens, you best know whether we have done well or ill. The suppression of unnecessary offices, of useless establishments and expenses, enabled us to discontinue our internal taxes. These, covering our land with officers and opening our doors to their intrusions, had already begun that process of domiciliary vexation which once entered is scarcely to be restrained from reaching successively every article of property and produce. If among these taxes some minor ones fell which had not been inconvenient, it was because their amount would not have paid the officers who collected them, and because, if they had any merit, the State authorities might adopt them instead of others less approved.

The remaining revenue on the consumption of foreign articles is paid chiefly by those who can afford to add foreign luxuries to domestic comforts, being collected on our seaboard and frontiers only; and, incorporated with the transactions of our mercantile citizens, it may be the pleasure and the pride of an American to ask, What farmer, what mechanic, what laborer, ever sees a tax-gatherer of the United States? These contributions enable us to support the current expenses of the Government, to fulfil contracts with foreign nations, to extinguish the native right of soil within our limits, to extend those limits, and to apply such a surplus to our public debts as places at a short day their final redemption; and, that redemption once effected, the revenue thereby liberated may, by a just repartition of it among the States and a corresponding amendment of the Constitution, be applied *in time of peace* to rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufactures, education, and other great objects within each State. *In time of war*, if injustice by ourselves or others must sometimes produce war, increased as the same revenue will be by increased population and consumption, and aided by other resources reserved for that crisis, it may meet within the year all the expenses of the year without encroaching on the rights of future generations by burthening them with the debts of the past. War will then be but a suspension of useful works, and a return to a state of peace a return to the progress of improvement.

I have said, fellow-citizens, that the income reserved had enabled us to extend our limits; but that extension may possibly pay for itself before we are called on, and in the mean time may keep down the accruing interest. In all events, it will replace the advances we shall have made. I know that the acquisition of Louisiana has been disapproved by some from a candid apprehension that the enlargement of our territory would endanger its union. But who can limit the extent to which the federative principle may operate effectively? The larger our association, the less will it be shaken by local passions; and, in any view, is it not better that the opposite bank of the Mississippi should be settled by our own brethren and children than by strangers of another family? With which should we be most likely to live in harmony and friendly intercourse?

In matters of religion I have considered that its free exercise is placed by the Constitution independent of the powers of the General Government. I have therefore undertaken on no occasion to prescribe the religious exercises suited to it, but have left them, as the Constitution found them, under the direction and discipline of the church or state authorities acknowledged by the several religious societies.

The aboriginal inhabitants of these countries I have regarded with the commiseration their history inspires. Endowed with the faculties and the rights of men, breathing an ardent love of liberty and independence, and occupying a country which left them no desire but to be undisturbed, the stream of overflowing population from other regions directed itself on these shores. Without power to divert or habits to contend against it, they have been overwhelmed by the current or driven before it. Now reduced within limits too narrow for the hunter's state, humanity enjoins us to teach them agriculture and the domestic arts; to encourage them to that industry which alone can enable them to maintain their place in existence, and to prepare them in time for that state of society which to bodily comforts adds the improvement of the mind and morals. We have therefore liberally furnished them with the implements of husbandry and household use. We have placed among them instructors in the arts of first necessity, and they are covered with the ægis of the law against aggressors from among ourselves.

But the endeavors to enlighten them on the fate which awaits their present course of life, to induce them to exercise their reason, follow its dictates, and change their pursuits with the change of circumstances have powerful obstacles to encounter. They are combated by the habits of their bodies, prejudices of their minds, ignorance, pride, and the influence of interested and crafty individuals among them who feel themselves something in the present order of things and fear to become nothing in any other. These persons inculcate a sanctimonious reverence for the customs of their ancestors; that whatsoever they did must be done through all time; that reason is a false guide, and to advance under its counsel in their physical, moral, or political condition is perilous innovation; that their duty is to remain as their Creator made them, ignorance being safety and knowledge full of danger. In short, my friends, among them also is seen the action and counteraction of good sense and of bigotry. They, too, have their anti-philosophists who find an interest in keeping things in their present state, who dread reformation, and exert all their faculties to maintain the ascendency of habit over the duty of improving our reason and obeying its mandates.

In giving these outlines, I do not mean, fellow-citizens, to arrogate to myself the merit of the measures. That is due, in the first place, to the reflecting character of our citizens at large, who, by the weight of public opinion, influence and strengthen the public measures. It is due to the sound discretion with which they select from among themselves those to whom they confide the legislative duties. It is due to the zeal and wisdom of the characters thus selected, who lay the foundations of public happiness in wholesome laws, the execution of which alone remains for others; and it is due to the able and faithful auxiliaries, whose patriotism has associated them with me in the executive functions.

During this course of administration, and in order to disturb it, the artillery of the press has been levelled against us, charged with whatsoever its licentiousness could devise or dare. These abuses of an institution so important to freedom and science are deeply to be regretted, inasmuch as they tend to lessen its usefulness and to sap its safety. They might, indeed, have been corrected by the wholesome punishments reserved to and provided by the laws of the several States against falsehood and defamation; but public duties more urgent press on the time of public servants, and the offenders have therefore been left to find their punishment in the public indignation.

Nor was it uninteresting to the world that an experiment should be fairly and fully made whether freedom of discussion, unaided by power, is not sufficient for the propagation and protection of truth, whether a government conducting itself in the true spirit of its Constitution, with zeal and purity, and doing no act which it would be unwilling the whole world should witness, can be written down by falsehood and defamation. The experiment has been tried: you have witnessed the scene. Our fellow-citizens looked on, cool and collected: they saw the latent source from which these outrages proceeded. They gathered around their public functionaries; and, when the Constitution called them to the decision by suffrage, they pronounced their verdict, honorable to those who had served them and consolatory to the friend of man who believes that he may be trusted with the control of his own affairs.

No inference is here intended that the laws provided by the States against false and defamatory publications should not be enforced. He who has time renders a service to public morals and public tranquillity in reforming these abuses by the salutary coercions of the law; but the experiment is noted to prove that, since truth and reason have maintained their ground against false opinions in league with false facts, the press, confined to truth, needs no other legal restraint. The public judgment will correct false reasonings and opinions on a full hearing of all parties; and no other definite line can be drawn between the inestimable liberty of the press and its demoralizing licentiousness. If there be still improprieties which this rule would not restrain, its supplement must be sought in the censorship of public opinion.

Contemplating the union of sentiment now manifested so generally as auguring harmony and happiness to our future course, I offer to our country sincere congratulations. With those, too, not yet rallied to the same point, the disposition to do so is gaining strength. Facts are piercing through the veil drawn over them, and our doubting brethren will at length see that the mass of their fellow-citizens, with whom they cannot yet resolve to act as to principles and measures, think as they think and desire what they desire; that our wish as well as theirs is that the public efforts may be directed honestly to the public good, that peace be cultivated, civil and religious liberty unassailed, law and order preserved, equality of rights maintained, and that state of property, equal or unequal, which results to every man from his own industry or that of his father. When satisfied of these views, it is not in human nature that they should not approve and support them. In the mean time let us cherish them with patient affection, let us do them justice, and more than justice, in all competitions of interest; and we need not doubt that truth, reason, and their own interests will at length prevail, will gather them into the fold of their country, and will complete that entire union of opinion which gives to a nation the blessing of harmony and the benefit of all its strength.

I shall now enter on the duties to which my fellow-citizens have again called me, and shall proceed in the spirit of those principles which they have approved. I fear not that any motives of interest may lead me astray. I am sensible of no passion which could seduce me knowingly from the path of justice, but the weaknesses of human nature and the limits of my own understanding will produce errors of judgment sometimes injurious to your interests. I shall need, therefore, all the indulgence which I have heretofore experienced from my constituents: the want of it will certainly not lessen with increasing years. I shall need, too, the favor of that Being in whose hands we are, who led our fathers, as Israel of old, from their native land, and planted them in a country flowing with all the necessaries and comforts of life, who has covered our infancy with His providence and our riper years with His wisdom and power, and to whose goodness I ask you to join in supplications with me that He will so enlighten the minds of your servants, guide their councils, and prosper their measures that whatsoever they do shall result in your good, and shall secure to you the peace, friendship, and approbation of all nations.

JEFFERSON AND HIS INAUGURATION.

From Henry Adams's History of the United States.

According to the admitted standards of greatness, Jefferson was a great man. After all deductions on which his enemies might choose to insist, his character could not be denied elevation, versatility, breadth, insight, and delicacy; but neither as a politician nor as a political philosopher did he seem at ease in the atmosphere which surrounded him. As a leader of democracy, he appeared singularly out of place. As reserved as President Washington in the face of popular familiarities, he never showed himself in crowds. During the last thirty years of his life he was not seen in a Northern city, even during his Presidency; nor indeed was he seen at all except on horseback, or by his friends and visitors in his own house. With manners apparently popular and informal, he led a life of his own, and allowed few persons to share it. His tastes were for that day excessively refined. His instincts were those of a liberal European nobleman, like the Duc de Liancourt; and he built for himself at Monticello a château above contact with man. The rawness of political life was an incessant torture to him, and personal attacks made him keenly unhappy. His true delight was in an intellectual life of science and art. To read, write, speculate in new lines of thought, to keep abreast of the intellect of Europe, and to feed upon Homer and Horace were pleasures more to his mind than any to be found in a public assembly. He had some knowledge of mathematics and a little acquaintance with classical art; but he fairly revelled in what he believed to be beautiful, and his writings often betrayed subtile feeling for artistic form,—a sure mark of intellectual sensuousness. He shrank from whatever was rough or coarse, and his yearning for sympathy was almost feminine. That such a man should have ventured upon the stormy ocean of politics was surprising, the more because he was no orator, and owed nothing to any magnetic influence of voice or person. Never effective in debate, for seventeen years before his Presidency he had not appeared in a legislative body except in the chair of the Senate. He felt a nervous horror for the contentiousness of such assemblies, and even among his own friends he sometimes abandoned for the moment his strongest convictions rather than support them by an effort of authority.

If Jefferson appeared ill at ease in the position of a popular leader, he seemed equally awkward in the intellectual restraints of his own political principles. His mind shared little in common with the provincialism on which the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were founded. His instincts led him to widen rather than to narrow the bounds of every intellectual exercise; and, if vested with political authority, he could no more resist the temptation to stretch his powers than he could abstain from using his mind on any subject merely because he might be drawn upon ground supposed to be dangerous. He was a deist, believing that men could manage their own salvation without the help of a state church. Prone to innovation, he sometimes generalized without careful analysis. He was a theorist, prepared to risk the fate of mankind on the chance of reasoning far from certain in its details. His temperament was sunny and sanguine, and the atrabilious philosophy of New England was intolerable to him. He was curiously vulnerable, for he seldom wrote a page without exposing himself to attack. He was superficial in his knowledge, and a martyr to the disease of omniscience. Ridicule of his opinions and of himself was an easy task, in which his Federalist opponents delighted, for his English was often confused, his assertions inaccurate, and at times of excitement he was apt to talk with indiscretion; while, with all his extraordinary versatility of character and opinions, he seemed during his entire life to breathe with perfect satisfaction nowhere except in the liberal, literary, and scientific air of Paris in 1789.

Jefferson aspired beyond the ambition of a nationality, and embraced in his view the whole future of man. That the United States should become a nation like France, England, or Russia, should conquer the world like Rome, or develop a typical race like the Chinese, was no part of his scheme. He wished to begin a new era. Hoping for a time when the world's ruling interests should cease to be local and should become universal; when questions of boundary and nationality should become insignificant; when armies and navies should be reduced to the work of police, and politics should consist only in non-intervention,—he set himself to the task of governing, with this golden age in view. Few men have dared to legislate as though eternal peace were at hand, in a world torn by wars and convulsions and drowned in blood; but this was what Jefferson aspired to do. Even in such dangers, he believed that Americans might safely set an example which the Christian world should be led by interest to respect and at length to imitate. As he conceived a true American policy, war was a blunder, an unnecessary risk; and even in case of robbery and aggression the United States, he believed, had only to stand on the defensive in order to obtain justice in the end. He would not consent to build up a new nationality merely to create more navies and armies, to perpetuate the crimes and follies of Europe: the central government at Washington should not be permitted to indulge in the miserable ambitions that had made the Old World a hell, and frustrated the hopes of humanity. . . .

Jefferson was the first President inaugurated at Washington; and the ceremony, necessarily simple, was made still simpler for political reasons. The retiring President was not present at the installation of his successor. In Jefferson's eyes a revolution had taken place as vast as that of 1776; and if this was his belief, perhaps the late President was wise to retire from a stage where everything was arranged to point a censure upon his principles, and where he would have seemed, in his successor's opinion, as little in place as George III. would have appeared at the installation of President Washington. The collapse of government which marked the last weeks of February, 1801, had been such as to leave of the old Cabinet only Samuel Dexter of Massachusetts, the Secretary of the Treasury, and Benjamin Stoddert, of Maryland, the Secretary of the Navy, still in office. John Marshall, the late Secretary of State, had been appointed, six weeks before, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

In this first appearance of John Marshall as Chief Justice, to administer the oath of office, lay the dramatic climax of the inauguration. The retiring President, acting for what he supposed to be the best interests of the country, by one of his last acts of power, deliberately intended to perpetuate the principles of his administration, placed at the head of the judiciary, for life, a man as obnoxious to Jefferson as the bitterest New England Calvinist could have been; for he belonged to that class of conservative Virginians whose devotion to President Washington, and whose education in the common law, caused them to hold Jefferson and his theories in antipathy. The new President and his two Secretaries were political philanthropists, bent on restricting the powers of the national government in the interests of human liberty. The Chief Justice, a man who in grasp of mind and steadiness of purpose had no superior, perhaps no equal, was bent on enlarging the powers of government in the interests of justice and nationality. As they stood face to face on this threshold of their power, each could foresee that the contest between them would end only with life. . . .

John Davis, one of many Englishmen who were allowed by Burr to attach themselves to him on the chance of some future benefit to be derived from them, asserted in a book of American travels published in London two years afterward that he was present at the inauguration, and that Jefferson rode on horseback to the Capitol, and, after hitching his horse to the palings, went in to take the oath. This story, being spread by the Federalist newspapers, was accepted by the Republicans, and became a legend of the Capitol. In fact, Davis was not then at Washington; and his story was untrue. Afterward, as President, Jefferson was in the habit of going on horseback, rather than in a carriage, wherever business called him; and the Federalists found fault with him for doing so. "He makes it a point," they declared,* "when he has occasion to visit the Capitol to meet the representatives of the nation on public business, to go on a single horse, which he leads into the shed and hitches to a peg." Davis wished to write a book that should amuse Englishmen; and, in order to give an air of truth to invention, he added that he was himself present at the ceremony. Jefferson was then living as Vice-President at Conrad's boarding-house, within a stone's throw of the Capitol. He did not mount his horse only to ride across the square and dismount in a crowd of observers. Doubtless he wished to offer an example of republican simplicity, and he was not unwilling to annoy his opponents; but the ceremony was conducted with proper form.

Edward Thornton, then in charge of the British Legation at Washington, wrote to Lord Grenville, then Foreign Secretary in Pitt's administration, a despatch enclosing the new President's Inaugural Address, with comments upon its democratic tendencies; and, after a few remarks on this subject, he added: † —

"The same republican spirit which runs through this performance, and which in many passages discovers some bitterness through all the sentiments of conciliation and philanthropy with which it is overcharged, Mr. Jefferson affected to display in performing the customary ceremonies. He came from his own lodgings to the House where the Congress convenes, and which goes by the name of the Capitol, on foot, in his ordinary dress, escorted by a body of militia artillery from the neighboring State, and accompanied by the Secretaries of the Navy and the Treasury, and a number of his political friends in the House of Representatives. He was received by Mr. Burr, the Vice-President of the United States, who arrived a day or two ago at the seat of government, and who was previously admitted this morning to the chair of the Senate; and was afterward complimented at his own lodgings by the very few foreign agents who reside at this place, by the members of Congress, and other public officials."

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* *Evening Post*, April 20, 1802.

† Thornton to Grenville, March 4, 1801; MSS. British Archives.

Only the north wing of the Capitol had then been so far completed as to be occupied by the Senate, the courts, and the small library of Congress. The centre rose not much above its foundations; and the south wing, some twenty feet in height, contained a temporary oval brick building, commonly called the "Oven," in which the House of Representatives sat in some peril of their lives; for, had not the walls been strongly shored up from without, the structure would have crumbled to pieces. Into the north wing the new President went, accompanied by the only remaining secretaries, Dexter and Stoddert, and by his friends from the House. Received by Vice-President Burr, and seated in the chair between Burr and Marshall, after a short pause Jefferson rose, and in a somewhat inaudible voice began his Inaugural Address.

Time, which has laid its chastening hand on many reputations, and has given to many once famous formulas a meaning unsuspected by their authors, has not altogether spared Jefferson's first Inaugural Address, although it was for a long time almost as well known as the Declaration of Independence; yet this Address was one of the few State Papers which should have lost little of its interest by age. As the starting-point of a powerful political party, the first Inaugural was a standard by which future movements were measured; and it went out of fashion only when its principles were universally accepted or thrown aside. Even as a literary work, it possessed a certain charm of style peculiar to Jefferson, a flavor of Virginia thought and manners, a Jeffersonian ideality calculated to please the ear of later generations forced to task their utmost powers in order to carry the complex trains of their thought.

The chief object of the Address was to quiet the passions which had been raised by the violent agitation of the past eight years. Every interest of the new Administration required that the extreme Federalists should be disarmed. Their temper was such as to endanger both Administration and Union; and their power was still formidable, for they controlled New England and contested New York. To them Jefferson turned: "Let us unite with one heart and one mind," he entreated; "let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists." . . .

A revolution had taken place; but the new President seemed anxious to prove that there had been no revolution at all. A new experiment in government was to be tried, and the philosopher at its head began by pledging himself to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors. Americans ended by taking him at his word, and by assuming that there was no break of continuity between his ideas and those of President Washington.

LETTER FROM JEFFERSON TO SAMUEL ADAMS.

Washington, Mar. 29, 1801.

I addressed a letter to you, my very dear and antient friend, on the 4th of March: not indeed to you by name, but through the medium of some of my fellow citizens whom occasion called on me to address. In meditating the matter of that address, I often asked myself, is this exactly in the spirit of the patriarch of liberty, Samuel Adams? Is it as he would express it? Will he approve of it? I have felt a great deal for our country in the times we have seen. But individually for no one so much as yourself. When I have been told that you were avoided, insulted, frowned on, I could but ejaculate, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' I confess I felt an indignation for you, which for myself I have been able, under every trial, to keep entirely passive. However, the storm is over, and we are in port. The ship was not rigged for the service she was put on. We will show the smoothness of her motions on her republican tack. I hope we shall once more see harmony restored among our citizens, & an entire oblivion of past feuds. Some of the leaders who have most committed themselves cannot come into this. But I hope the great body of our fellow citizens will do it. I will sacrifice everything but principle to procure it. A few examples of justice on officers who have perverted their functions to the oppression of their fellow citizens must, in justice to those citizens, be made. But opinion, & the just maintenance of it, shall never be a crime in my view: nor bring injury on the individual. Those whose misconduct in office ought to have produced their removal even by my predecessor, must not be protected by the delicacy due only to honest men. How much I lament that time has deprived me of your aid. It would have been a day of glory which should have called you to the first office of the administration. But give us your counsel, my friend, and give us your blessing; and be assured that there exists not in the heart of man a more faithful esteem than mine to you, & that I shall ever bear you the most affectionate veneration and respect.

The letter from Jefferson to Samuel Adams immediately preceding, written just after his inauguration, is of interest as an expression of the peculiar esteem and reverence which he felt for "the Father of the American Revolution." It is also of interest as an illustration of Jefferson's revelation of his feelings in his letters so much more truly than in his messages and addresses. The importance of this fact is well emphasized by Henry Adams, from whose just and acute characterization of Jefferson extracts are given above. Jefferson's writings are mostly letters,—there are few essays or systematic works,—and few letters of the period are more pregnant, varied, or informing. An edition of Jefferson's writings in nine volumes, edited by H. A. Washington, was published in 1853 by the authority of the government. The publication of a completer and more critical edition, edited by Paul Leicester Ford, was begun in 1892.

The completest biography of Jefferson is that by Randall, in three volumes, published in 1858. The important biography by Tucker appeared twenty years earlier; and the "Memoirs, Correspondence, and Miscellanies of Thomas Jefferson," by Thomas J. Randolph, earlier still. The best popular life is that by James Parton. The volume on Jefferson in the "American Statesmen" series is by John T. Morse, Jr. The life, by James Schouler, in the "Makers of America" series, is an admirable little book. A valuable supplement to all is "The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson," by his great-grand-daughter, Sarah N. Randolph.

For the period of Jefferson's Presidency we are peculiarly fortunate. To this are devoted the first four of the nine volumes of Henry Adams's History of the United States, the history of Jefferson's and Madison's administrations. There is no better work relating to any period of American history. In wealth of knowledge, in thoroughness and accuracy, in sympathetic appreciation of the time and its men, in grasp and warmth and literary charm, this stands in the front rank of American histories; and to it the student is referred for the most adequate introduction to the time of Jefferson's inauguration and administration.

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An Account of Louisiana.

1803.

Being an Abstract of Documents in the Offices of the Departments of State and of the Treasury.

The object of the following pages is to consolidate the information respecting the present state of Louisiana, furnished to the Executive by several individuals among the best informed upon that subject.

Of the province of Louisiana no general map, sufficiently correct to be depended upon, has been published, nor has any been yet procured from a private source. It is indeed probable that surveys have never been made on so extensive a scale as to afford the means of laying down the various regions of a country which, in some of its parts, appears to have been but imperfectly explored.

Boundaries.—The precise boundaries of Louisiana, westwardly of the Mississippi, though very extensive, are at present involved in some obscurity. Data are equally wanting to assign with precision its northern extent. From the source of the Mississippi, it is bounded eastwardly by the middle of the channel of that river to the thirty-first degree of latitude: thence it is asserted upon very strong grounds that according to its limits, when formerly possessed by France, it stretches to the east, as far, at least, as the river Perdigo, which runs into the bay of Mexico, eastward of the river Mobille.

It may be consistent with the view of these notes to remark that Louisiana, including the Mobille settlements, was discovered and peopled by the French, whose monarchs made several grants of its trade, in particular to Mr. Crosat in 1712, and some years afterwards, with his acquiescence, to the well-known company projected by Mr. Law. This company was relinquished in the year 1731. By a secret convention on the 3d November, 1762, the French government ceded so much of the province as lies beyond the Mississippi, as well as the island of New-Orleans, to Spain, and by the treaty of peace which followed in 1763 the whole territory of France and Spain eastward of the middle of the Mississippi to the Iberville, thence through the middle of that river, and the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain to the sea, was ceded to Great Britain. Spain having conquered the Floridas from Great Britain during our Revolutionary War, they were confirmed to her by the treaty of peace of 1783. By the treaty of St. Ildefonso, of the 1st of October, 1800, his Catholic Majesty promises and engages on his part to cede back to the French Republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the conditions and stipulations therein contained, relative to the Duke of Parma, "the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it actually has in the hands of Spain, that it had when France possessed it, and such as it ought to be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states." This treaty was confirmed and enforced by that of Madrid of the 21st March, 1801. From France it passed to us by the treaty of the 30th of April last, with a reference to the above clause, as descriptive of the limits ceded.

Divisions of the Province.—The province as held by Spain, including a part of West Florida, is laid off into the following principal divisions: Mobille, from Balise to the city, New-Orleans and the country on both sides of Lake Ponchartrain, first and second German coasts, Catahanose, Fourche, Venezuela, Iberville, Galvez-Town, Baton-Rouge, Pointe Coupee, Atacapas, Opelousas, Ouachita, Avoyelles, Rapide, Natchitoches, Arkansas, and the Illinois.

In the Illinois there are commandants, at New-Madrid, St. Genevieve, New Bourbon, St. Charles and St. Andrews, all subordinate to the commandant general.

Baton-Rouge having been made a government, subsequently to the treaty of limits, etc., with Spain, the posts of Manchac and Thompson's Creek, or Feliciana, were added to it.

Chapitoulas has sometimes been regarded as a separate command, but is now included within the jurisdiction of the city. The lower part of the river has likewise had occasionally a separate commandant.

Many of the present establishments are separated from each other by immense and trackless deserts, having no communication with each other by land, except now and then a solitary instance of its being attempted by hunters, who have to swim rivers, expose themselves to the inclemency of the weather, and carry their provisions on their backs for a time, proportioned to the length of their journey. This is particularly the case on the west of the Mississippi, where the communication is kept up only by water, between the capital and the distant settlements, three months being required to convey intelligence from the one to the other by the Mississippi. The usual distance accomplished by a boat in ascending is five leagues per day.

The rapidity of the current in the spring season especially, when the waters of all the rivers are high, facilitates the descent, so that the same voyage by water, which requires three or four months to perform from the capital, may be made to it in from twelve to sixteen days. The principal settlements in Louisiana are on the Mississippi, which begins to be cultivated about twenty leagues from the sea, where the plantations are yet thin, and owned by the poorest people. Ascending, you see them improve on each side, till you reach the city, which is situated on the east bank, on a bend of the river, 35 leagues from the sea,

Chapitoulas, First and Second German Coasts.— Catahanose. — Fourche and Iberville.— The best and most approved are above the city, and comprehend what is there known by the Paroisse de Chapitoulas, Premier and Second Cote des Allemands, and extends 16 leagues.

Above this begins the parish of Catahanose, or first Acadian settlement, extending eight leagues on the river. Adjoining it and still ascending is the second Acadian settlement or parish of the Fourche, which extends about six leagues. The parish of Iberville then commences, and is bounded on the east side by the river of the same name, which, though dry a great part of the year, yet, when the Mississippi is raised, it communicates with the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain, and through them with the sea, and thus forms what is called the island of New-Orleans. Except on the point just below the Iberville the country from New-Orleans is settled the whole way along the river, and presents a scene of uninterrupted plantations in sight of each other, whose fronts to the Mississippi are all cleared and occupy on that river from 5 to 25 acres with a depth of 40, so that a plantation of 5 acres in front contains 200. A few sugar plantations are formed in the parish of Catahanose; but the remainder is devoted to cotton and provisions, and the whole is an excellent soil, incapable of being exhausted. The plantations are but one deep on the island of New-Orleans, and on the opposite side of the river as far as the mouth of the Iberville, which is 35 leagues above New-Orleans.

Bayou de Fourche.—*Atacapas and Opelousas.*—About 25 leagues from the last-mentioned place on the west side of the Mississippi, the creek or Bayou of the Fourche, called in old maps La Riviere des Chitamaches, flows from the Mississippi, and communicates with the sea to the west of the Balise. The entrance of the Mississippi is navigable only at high water, but will then admit of craft of from 60 to 70 tons' burthen. On both banks of this creek are settlements, one plantation deep, for near 15 leagues; and they are divided into two parishes. The settlers are numerous, though poor; and the culture is universally cotton. On all creeks making from the Mississippi the soil is the same as on the bank of the river; and the border is the highest part of it, from whence it descends gradually to the swamp. In no place on the low lands is there depth more than suffices for one plantation, before you come to the low grounds, incapable of cultivation. This creek affords one of the communications to the two populous and rich settlements of Atacapas and Opelousas, formed on and near the small rivers Teche and Vermillon which flow into the Bay of Mexico. But the principal and swiftest communication is by the Bayou or creek of Plaquemines, whose entrance into the Mississippi is 7 leagues higher up on the same side, and 32 above New-Orleans. These settlements abound in cattle and horses, have a large quantity of good land in their vicinity, and may be made of great importance. A part of their produce is sent by sea to New-Orleans, but the greater part is carried in batteaux by the creeks above mentioned.

Baton-Rouge and its Dependencies.—Immediately above the Iberville and on both sides of the Mississippi lies the parish of Manchac, which extends four leagues on the river, and is well cultivated. Above it commences the settlement of Baton-

Rouge, extending about 9 leagues. It is remarkable as being the first place where the high land is contiguous to the river, and here it forms a bluff from 30 to 40 feet above the greatest rise of the river. Here the settlements extend a considerable way back on the east side, and this parish has that of Thompson's Creek and Bayou Sara subordinate to it. The mouth of the first of these creeks is about 49 leagues from New-Orleans, and that of the latter 2 or 3 leagues higher up. They run from north-east to south-west, and their head-waters are north of the 31st degree of latitude, Their banks have the best soil and the greatest number of good cotton plantations of any part of Louisiana, and are allowed to be the garden of it.

Pointe Coupee & Fausse Riviere.— Above Baton-Rouge, at the distance of 50 leagues from New-Orleans, and on the west side of the Mississippi, is Pointe Coupee, a populous and rich settlement, extending 8 leagues along the river. Its produce is cotton. Behind it, on an old bed of the river, now a lake, whose outlets are closed up, is the settlement of Fausse Riviere, which is well cultivated.

In the space now described from the sea as high as and including the last-mentioned settlement is contained three-fourths of the population and seven-eighths of the riches of Louisiana.

From the settlement of Pointe Coupee on the Mississippi to Cape Girardeau above the mouth of the Ohio there is no land on the west side that is not overflowed in the spring to the distance of 8 or 10 leagues from the river, with from 2 to 12 feet of water, except a small spot near New-Madrid, so that in the whole extent there is no possibility of forming a considerable settlement contiguous to the river on that side. The eastern bank has in this respect a decided advantage over the western, as there are on it many situations which effectually command the river.

Red River and its Settlements.— On the west side of the Mississippi, 70 leagues from New-Orleans, is the mouth of the Red River, on whose banks and vicinity are the settlements of Rapide, Avoyelles, and Natchitoches, all of them thriving and populous. The latter is situate 75 leagues up the Red River. On the north side of the Red River, a few leagues from its junction with the Mississippi, is the Black River, on one of whose branches, a considerable way up, is the infant settlement of Ouachita, which from the richness of the soil may be made a place of importance. Cotton is the chief produce of these settlements, but they have likewise a considerable Indian trade. The river Rouge, or Red River, is used to communicate with the frontiers of New Mexico.

Concord.—Arkansas.—St. Charles and St. Andrew, &c.—There is no other settlement on the Mississippi except the small one called Concord, opposite to the Natchez, till you come to the Arkansas River, whose mouth is 250 leagues above New-Orleans.

Here there are but a few families, who are more attached to the Indian trade (by which chiefly they live) than to cultivation. There is no settlement from this place to New-Madrid, which is itself inconsiderable. Ascending the river, you come to Cape Girardeau, St. Genevieve, and St. Louis, where, though the inhabitants are numerous, they raise little for exportation, and content themselves with trading with the Indians and working a few lead mines. This country is very fertile, especially on the banks of the Missouri, where there have been formed two settlements, called St. Charles and St. Andrew, mostly by emigrants from Kentucky. The peltry procured in the Illinois is the best sent to the Atlantic market, and the quantity is very considerable. Lead is to be had with ease, and in such quantities as to supply all Europe, if the population were sufficient to work the numerous mines to be found within two or three feet from the surface in various parts of the country. The settlements about the Illinois were first made by the Canadians, and their inhabitants still resemble them in their aversion to labor and love of a wandering life. They contain but few negroes, compared to the number of the whites; and it may be taken for a general rule that, in proportion to the distance of the capital, the number of blacks diminish below that of the whites, the former abounding most on the rich plantations in its vicinity.

General Description of Upper Louisiana.—Wnen compared with the Indiana territory, the face of the country in Upper Louisiana is rather more broken, though the soil is equally fertile. It is a fact not to be contested that the west side of the river possesses some advantages not generally incident to those regions. It is elevated and healthy and well watered with a variety of large, rapid streams, calculated for mills and other water works. From Cape Girardeau, above the mouth of the Ohio, to the Missouri, the land on the east side of the Mississippi is low and flat and occasionally exposed to inundations;

that on the Louisiana side, contiguous to the river, is generally much higher, and in many places very rocky on the shore. Some of the heights exhibit a scene truly picturesque. They rise to a height of at least 300 feet, faced with perpendicular *lime and freestone*, carved into various shapes and figures by the hand of nature, and afford the appearance of a multitude of antique towers. From the tops of these elevations the land gradually slopes back from the river, without gravel or rock, and is covered with valuable timber. It may be said with truth that, for fertility of soil, no part of the world exceeds the borders of the Mississippi, the land yields an abundance of all the necessaries of life, and almost spontaneously, very little labor being required in the cultivation of the earth. That part of Upper Louisiana which borders on North Mexico is one immense *prairie;* it produces nothing but grass; it is filled with buffalo, deer, and other kinds of game; the land is represented as too rich for the growth of forest trees.

It is pretended that Upper Louisiana contains in its bowels many silver and copper mines, and various specimens of both are exhibited. Several trials have been made to ascertain the fact; but the want of skill in the artists has hitherto left the subject undecided.

The salt works are also pretty numerous: some belong to individuals, others to the public. They already yield an abundant supply for the consumption of the country, and, if properly managed, might become an article of more general exportation. The usual price per bushel is 150 cents in *cash* at the works. This price will be still lower as soon as the manufacture of the salt is assumed by government, or patronised by men who have large capitals to employ in the business. One extraordinary fact relative to salt must not be omitted. There exists about 1,000 miles up the Missouri, and not far from that river, *a Salt Mountain!* The existence of such a mountain might well be questioned, were it not for the testimony of several respectable and enterprising traders, who have visited it, and who have exhibited several bushels of the salt to the curiosity of the people of St. Louis, where some of it still remains. A specimen of the same salt has been sent to Marietta. This mountain is said to be 180 miles long and 45 in width, composed of solid rock salt, without any trees or even shrubs on it. Salt springs are very numerous beneath the surface of the mountain, and they flow through the fissures and cavities of it. Caves of salt-petre are found in Upper Louisiana, though at some distance from the settlements. Four men on a trading voyage lately discovered one several hundred miles up the Missouri. They spent 5 or 6 weeks in the manufacture of this article, and returned to St. Louis with 400 weight of it. It proved to be good, and they sold it for a high price.

The geography of the Mississippi and Missouri, and their contiguity for a great length of way, are but little known. The traders assert that 100 miles above their junction a man may walk from one to the other in a day; and it is also asserted that 700 miles still higher up the portage may be crossed in four or five days. This portage is frequented by traders, who carry on a considerable trade with some of the Missouri Indians. Their general route is through Green Bay, which is an arm of Lake Michigan; they then pass into a small lake connected with it, and which communicates with the Fox River; they then cross over a short portage into the Ouisconsing River, which unites with the Mississippi some distance below the falls of St. Anthony. It is also said that the traders communicate with the Mississippi above these falls, through Lake Superior; but their trade in that quarter is much less considerable.

Canal of Carondelet.— Behind New-Orleans is a canal about 1½ miles long, which communicates with a creek called the Bayou St. Jean, flowing into Lake Ponchartrain. At the mouth of it, about 2½ leagues from the city, is a small fort called St. Jean, which commands the entrance from the lake. By this creek the communication is kept up through the lake and the Rigolets to Mobille and the settlements in West Florida. Craft drawing from 6 to 8 feet water can navigate to the mouth of the creek, but except in particular swells of the lake cannot pass the bar without being lightened.

St. Bernardo.— On the east side of the Mississippi, about five leagues below New-Orleans and at the head of the English bend, is a settlement known by the name of the Poblacion de St. Bernardo, or the Terre aux Bœufs, extending on both sides of a creek or drain, whose head is contiguous to the Mississippi, and which flowing eastward, after a course of 18 leagues and dividing itself into two branches, falls into the sea and lake Borgne. This settlement consists of two parishes, almost all the inhabitants of which are Spaniards from the Canaries, who content themselves with raising fowls, corn, and garden stuff for the Market at New-Orleans. The lands cannot be cultivated to any great distance from the banks of the creek on account of the vicinity of the marsh behind them, but the place is susceptible of great improvement and of affording another communication to small craft of from 8 to 10 feet draught between the sea and the Mississippi.

Settlements below the English Turn.— At the distance of 16 leagues below New-Orleans the settlements on both banks of the river are of but small account. Between these and the fort of Plaquemines the country is overflowed in the spring, and in many places is incapable of cultivation at any time, being a morass almost impassable by man or beast. This small tongue of land extends considerably into the sea, which is visible on both sides of the Mississippi from a ship's mast.

Country from Plaquemines to the Sea, and Effect of the Hurricanes.— From Plaquemines to the sea is 12 or 13 leagues. The country is low, swampy, chiefly covered with reeds, having little or no timber and no settlement whatever. It may be necessary to mention here that the whole lower part of the country from the English Turn downward is subject to overflowing in hurricanes, either by the recoiling of the river or reflux from the sea on each side; and on more than one occasion it has been covered from the depth of 2 to 10 feet, according to the descent of the river, whereby many lives were lost, horses and cattle swept away, and a scene of destruction laid. The last calamity of this kind happened in 1794; but, fortunately, they are not frequent. In the preceding year the engineer who superintended the erection of the fort of Plaquemines was drowned in his house near the fort, and the workmen and garrison escaped only by taking refuge on an elevated spot in the fort, on which there were, notwithstanding, 2 or 3 feet of water. These hurricanes have generally been felt in the month of August. Their greatest fury lasts about 12 hours. They commence in the south-east, veer about to all points of the compass, are felt most severely below and seldom extend more than a few leagues above New-Orleans. In their whole course they are marked with ruin and desolation. Until that of 1793 there had been none felt from the year 1780.

Passes, or Mouths of the Mississippi.—About 8 leagues below Plaquemines, the Mississippi divides itself into three channels, which are called the passes of the river; viz., the East, South, and South-west passes. Their course is from 5 to 6 leagues to the sea. The space between is a marsh with little or no timber on it; but from its situation it may hereafter be rendered of importance. The East pass, which is on the left hand going down the river, is divided into two branches about two leagues below, viz. the Pass à la Loutre, and that known to mariners by the name of the Balize, at which there is a small block house and some huts of the pilots, who reside only here. The first of these secondary channels contains at present but 8 feet water, the latter from 14 to 16 according to the seasons. The South pass, which is directly in front of the Mississippi, has always been considered as entirely choaked up, but has 10 feet water. The South-west pass, which is on the right, is the longest and narrowest of all the passes, and a few years ago had 18 feet water, and was that by which the large ships always entered and sailed from the Mississippi. It has now but 8 feet water, and will probably remain so for some time. In speaking of the quantity of water in the passes, it must be understood of what is on the bar of each pass; for immediately after passing the bar, which is very narrow, there are from 5 to 7 fathoms at all seasons.

Country East of Lake Ponchartrain.—The country on the east side of Lake Ponchartrain to Mobille, and including the whole extent between the American line, the Mississippi above New-Orleans, and the lakes (with the exception of a tract of about 30 miles on the Mississippi, and as much square contiguous to the line, and comprehending the waters of Thompson's Creek, Bayou Sara, and the Amet) is a poor thin soil, overgrown with pine, and contains no good land whatever, unless on the banks of a few small rivers. It would, however, afford abundant supplies of pitch, tar and pine lumber, and would feed large herds of cattle.

The Inhabitants and their Origin.— The inhabitants of Louisiana are chiefly the descendants of the French and Canadians. There are a considerable number of English and Americans in New-Orleans. The two German coasts are peopled by the descendants of settlers from Germany, and a few French mixed with them. The three succeeding settlements up to Baton-Rouge contain mostly Acadians, banished from Nova Scotia by the English and their descendants. The government of Baton-Rouge, especially the east side, which includes all the country between the Iberville and the American line, is composed partly of Acadians, a very few French, and of a great majority of Americans. On the west side they are mostly Acadians: at Pointe Coupee and Faussee River they are French and Acadians. Of the population of the Atacapas and Opelousas, a considerable part is American. Natchitoches, on the Red River, contains but a few Americans, and the remainder of the inhabitants are French; but the former are more numerous in the other settlements on that river,—viz., Avoyelles, Rapide, and Ouacheta. At Arkansas they are, mostly French; and at New-Madrid, Americans. At least two-fifths, if not a greater proportion of all the settlers on the Spanish side of the Mississippi, in the Illinois country, are likewise supposed to be Americans. Below New-Orleans the population is altogether French, and the descendants of Frenchmen.

New Orleans.— By recurring to the maps and examining the position of Louisiana, it will appear that the lower part projects considerably into the sea. It has in all probability been formed by the sediment brought down by the current and deposited on the flat coast. There is therefore on the east side but a very narrow slip along the bank of the river, from the sea to the Iberville. The land is not generally susceptible of cultivation more than a mile in depth from the river: the rest is low and swampy to the lakes and the sea, but in general abounds with cypress timber, which is sawed by mills, which are worked by artificial streams from the Mississippi in the time of freshes. They generally run five months in the year.

What has been said of the east equally applies to the west side of the river. The soil and situation are nearly the same. After leaving the bank of the river, there is an immense swamp, intersected by creeks and lakes, extending to the high lands of Atacapas, and occupying a space of thirty or forty leagues.

The city of New-Orleans, which is regularly laid out, on the east side of the Mississippi, in lat. 30, N., and long. 90, W., extends nearly a mile along the river, from the gate of France on the south to that of Chapitoulas above, and a little more than a third of a mile in breadth, from the river to the rampart; but it has an extensive suburb on the upper side. The houses in front of the town, and for a square or two backwards, are mostly of brick, covered with slate or tile, and many of two stories. The remainder are of wood. covered with shingles. The streets cross each other at right angles, and are 32 French feet wide. The squares between the intersections of the streets have a front of 300 French feet. There is in the middle of the front of the city a *place d'armes*, facing which the church and town house are built. There are from 12 to 1,400 houses in the city and suburbs. The population may be estimated at 10,000, including the seamen and garrison. It was fortified in 1793, but the works were originally defective, could not have been defended, and are now in ruins. The powder magazine is on the opposite bank of the river.

The public buildings and other public property in New-Orleans are as follows: —

Two very extensive brick stores, from 160 to 180 feet in length and about 30 in breadth. They are one-story high, and covered with shingles.

A government house, stables, and garden, occupying a front of about 220 feet on the river, in the middle of the town, and extending 336 feet back to the next street.

A military hospital.

An ill-built custom-house of wood, almost in ruins, in the upper part of the city, near the river.

An extensive barrack in the lower part of the city, fronting on the river, and calculated to lodge 12 or 1,400 men.

A large lot adjoining the king's stores, with a few sheds in it. It serves as a park for artillery.

A prison, town house, market house, assembly room, some ground rents, and the common about the town.

A public school for the rudiments of the Spanish language.

A cathedral church unfinished, and some houses belonging to it.

A charitable hospital, with some houses belonging to it, and a revenue of 1,500 dollars annually, endowed by an individual lately deceased.

The canal de Carondelet has been already described.

Number of Inhabitants.— According to the annexed census,* No. 2, of Louisiana, including Pensacola and the Natchez, as made in 1785, the whole number of inhabitants amounted to 32,062, of which 14,215 were free whites, 1,303 free people of colour, and 16,544 slaves.

The statement, No. 3, from the latest documents, makes the whole number 42,375, the free whites, 21,244, the free people of colour, 1,768, and the slaves, 12,920.

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* Referring to appendix not here printed.

A particular statement respecting the population, &c., of Upper Louisiana, and another containing the census of New Orleans, in this year, are numbered 4 and 5 in the appendix.

These papers certainly exhibit a smaller number than the real population of the country. From an official document, made in July last, and received from Atacapas since the statement, No. 3, was formed, it appears that it contained 2,270 whites, 210 free people of colour, 1,266 slaves, in all 3,746 souls instead of 1,447, as therein stated. It is highly probable that the return for the neighbouring district of Opelousas is in the same proportion underrated.

A conjectural estimation made by a gentleman of great respectability and correct information, residing at Natchez, raises the number of whites in the island of New Orleans, on the west side of the river, and some settlements on the east side, to 50,150, and the number of blacks to 39,820. His statement is also subjoined, No. 6.

It is at all times difficult to obtain the full census of a county, and the impediments are increased in this from its scattered population. The actual enumeration may therefore fall short of the true numbers.

Militia.— There is a militia in Louisiana. The following is the return of it, made to the court of Spain, by the Baron of Carondelet.

	Militia.
From Balize to the city — volunteers of the Mississippi, — 4 companies of 100 men each — complete,	400
City — Battalion of the city, 5 companies,	500
Artillery company, with supernumeraries,	120
Carabineers, or privileged companies of horse, 2 companies of 70 each — incomplete,	100
Mulattoes, 2 companies; negroes, 1 do.	300
Mixed legion of the Mississippi, comprehending Galveztown, Baton-Rouge, Pointe Coupee, Atacapas, and Opelousas, viz.	
2 companies of grenadiers,	
8 do. of fusileers,	
4 do. of dragoons,	
2 do. lately added from Bayou Sara.	
16 companies of 100 men each,	1,600

Avoyelles, 1 company of infantry,	100
Oucheta, 1 do. of cavalry,	100
Natchitoches, 1 do. of infantry and 1 of cavalry,	200
Arkansas, 1 do. of infantry and cavalry,	100
Illinois, 4 do. of cavalry 4 do. of infantry } These are always above the compliment.	800
Provincial regiment of Germans and Acadians, from the first German coast to Iberville, 10 companies, viz. 2 of grenadiers, 8 fusileers,	1,000
Mobille and the country east of Lake Ponchartrain, 2 companies of horse and foot incomplete,	120
	5,440

The same gentleman alluded to, page [13], makes the number of the militia to amount to 10,340 men within the same limits to which his estimate of the population applies. He distributes them in the several settlements, as follows:

1. The island of New-Orleans, with the opposite margin and the adjacent settlements, - - - -	5,000
2. The west margin from Manchac, including Pointe Coupee, and extending to the Red River, - - -	800
3. Atacapas, along the coast, between the Delta of the Mississippi and the river Sabine, - - - -	350
4. Opelousas, - - - - - - - -	750
5. Red River, including Bayou Bœuf, Avoyelles, Rapide, and Natchitoches, - - - - -	1,000
6. Ouachita, - - - - - - - -	300
7. Concord, - - - - - - - -	40
8. Arkansas, - - - - - - - -	150
9. New Madrid and its vicinity, - - - -	350
10. Illinois and Missouri, - - - - -	1,000
11. The settlements on the east side of the Mississippi, from the American line to the Iberville, and some other settlements, - - - - - - -	600
	10,340

It is to be observed that none of these statements include the country beyond the river Sabine, nor even all those which lie eastwardly of it. Data are also wanting to give them.

Fortifications.— St. Louis has a lieutenant colonel to command in it, and but few troops. Baton-Rouge is an ill-constructed fort, and has about 50 men. In describing the canal of Carondelet, the small fort of St. Jean has been mentioned, as has the block house at the Balize in its proper place. The fortifications of New-Orleans, noticed before, consist of five ill-constructed redoubts, with a covered way, palisade and ditch. The whole is going fast to decay, and it is supposed they would be of but little service in case of an attack. Though the powder magazine is on the opposite side of the river, there is no sufficient provision made for its removal to the city, in case of need.

The fort of Plaquemines, which is about twelve or thirteen leagues from the sea, is an ill-constructed, irregular brick work, on the eastern side of the Mississippi, with a ditch in front of the river, and protected on the lower side by a deep creek, flowing from the river to the sea. It is, however, imperfectly closed behind, and almost without defence there, too much reliance having been placed on the swampiness of the ground, which hardens daily. It might be taken, perhaps, by escalade, without difficulty. It is in a degree ruinous. The principal front is meant to defend the approach from the sea, and can oppose, at most, but eight heavy guns. It is built at a turn in the river, where ships in general must anchor, as the wind which brings them up so far is contrary in the next reach, which they mostly work through; and they would, therefore, be exposed to the fire of the fort. On the opposite bank are the ruins of a small closed redoubt, called Fort Bourbon, usually guarded by a sergeant's command. Its fire was intended to flank that of the fort of Plaquemines, and prevent shipping and craft from ascending or descending on that side. When a vessel appears, a signal is made on one side, and answered on the other. Should she attempt to pass without sending a boat on shore, she would be immediately fired upon.

Indians.— The Indian nations within the limits of Louisiana are as far known as follows, and consist of the numbers hereafter specified.

On the eastern bank of the Mississippi, about 25 leagues above Orleans, the remains of the nation of Houmas, or Red Men, which do not exceed 60 persons. There are no other Indians settled on this side of the river, either in Louisiana or West Florida, though they are at times frequented by parties of wandering Choctaws.

On the west side of the Mississippi are the remains of the Tounicas, settled near, and above Pointe Coupee on the river, consisting of fifty or sixty persons.

In the Atacapas.— On the lower parts of the Bayou Teche, at about eleven or twelve leagues from the sea, are two villages of Chitimachas, consisting of about an hundred souls.

The Atacapas, properly so called, dispersed thoughout the district, and chiefly on the Bayou or creek of Vermillion, about one hundred souls.

Wanderers of the tribes of Bilexis and Choctaws on Bayou Crocodile, which empties into the Teche, about fifty souls.

In the Opelousas, to the N. W. of Atacapas.— Two villages of Alibamas in the centre of the district near the church, consisting of one hundred persons.

Conchates dispersed through the country as far west as the river Sabinas and its neighbourhood, about three hundred and fifty persons.

On the River Rouge.— At Avoyelles, nineteen leagues from the Mississippi, is a village of the Biloni nation, and another on the lake of the Avoyelles, the whole about sixty souls.

At the Rapide, twenty-six leagues from the Mississippi, is a village of Choctaws of one hundred souls, and another of Biloxes, about two leagues from it, of about one hundred more: about eight or nine leagues higher up the Red River is a village of about fifty souls. All these are occasionally employed by the settlers in their neighbourhood as boatmen.

About eighty leagues above Natchitoches on the Red River is the nation of the Cadoquies, called by abbreviation Cados. They can raise from three to four hundred warriors, are the friends of the whites, and are esteemed the bravest and most generous of all the nations in this vast country. They are rapidly decreasing, owing to intemperance and the numbers annually destroyed by the Osages and Choctaws.

There are, besides the foregoing, at least four to five hundred families of Choctaws, who are dispersed on the west side of the Mississippi, on the Ouacheta and Red Rivers, as far west as Natchitoches; and the whole nation would have emigrated across the Mississippi, had it not been for the opposition of the Spaniards and the Indians on that side who had suffered by their aggressions.

On the River Arkansas, etc.— Between the Red River and the Arkansas there are but a few Indians, the remains of tribes almost extinct. On this last river is the nation of the same name, consisting of about two hundred and sixty warriors. They are brave, yet peaceable and well-disposed, and have always been attached to the French, and espoused their cause in their wars with the Chickasaws, whom they have always resisted with success. They live in three villages; the first is at eighteen leagues from the Mississippi on the Arkansas River, and the others are at three and six leagues from the first. A scarcity of game on the eastern side of the Mississippi has lately induced a number of Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, &c., to frequent the neighbourhood of Arkansas, where game is still in abundance: they have contracted marriages with the Arkansas, and seem inclined to make a permanent settlement and incorporate themselves with that nation. The number is unknown, but is considerable, and is every day increasing.

On the river St. Francis, in the neighbourhood of New-Madrid, Cape Girardeau, Reviere a la Pomme, and the environs, are settled a number of vagabonds, emigrants from the Delawares, Shawnese, Miamis, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Piorias, and supposed to consist in all of five hundred families: they are at times troublesome to the boats descending the river, and have even plundered some of them, and committed a few murders. They are attached to liquor, seldom remain long in any place, many of them speak English, all understand it, and there are some who even read and write it.

At St. Genevieve, in the settlement among the whites, are about thirty Piorias, Kaskaskias, and Illinois, who seldom hunt, for fear of the other Indians: they are the remains of a nation which, fifty years ago, could bring into the field one thousand two hundred warriors.

On the Missouri.— On the Missouri and its waters are many and numerous nations, the best known of which are: the Osages, situated on the river of same name, on the right bank of the Missouri, at about eighty leagues from its confluence with it: they consist of one thousand warriors, who live in two settlements at no great distance from each other. They are of a gigantic stature and well proportioned, are enemies of the whites and of all other Indian nations, and commit depredations from the Illinois to the Arkansas. The trade of this nation is said to be under an exclusive grant. They are a cruel and ferocious race, and are hated and feared by all the other Indians. The confluence of the Osage River with the Missouri is about eight leagues from the Mississippi.

Sixty leagues higher up the Missouri, and on the same bank, is the river Kanzas, and on it the nation of the same name, but at about seventy or eighty leagues from its mouth. It consists of about two hundred and fifty warriors, who are as fierce and cruel as the Osages, and often molest and ill-treat those who go to trade among them.

Sixty leagues above the river Kanzas, and at about two hundred from the mouth of the Missouri, still on the right bank, is the *rivierre Platte*, or Shallow River, remarkable for its quicksands and bad navigation; and near its confluence with the Missouri dwells the nation of Octolactos, commonly called Otos, consisting of about two hundred warriors, among whom are twenty-five or thirty of the nation of Missouri, who took refuge among them about twenty-five years since.

Forty leagues up the *river Platte* you come to the nation of the Panis, composed of about seven hundred warriors in four neighbouring villages. They hunt but little and are ill provided with fire-arms: they often make war on the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Santa Fe, from which they are not far distant.

At three hundred leagues from the Mississippi and one hundred from the *river Platte*, on the same bank, are situated the villages of the Mahas. They consisted in 1799 of five hundred warriors, but are said to have been almost cut off last year by the small-pox.

At fifty leagues above the Mahas, and on the left bank of the Missouri, dwell the Poncas, to the number of two hundred and fifty warriors, possessing in common with the Mahas their language, ferocity, and vices. Their trade has never been of much value, and those engaged to it are exposed to pillage and ill-treatment.

At the distance of 450 leagues from the Mississippi, and on the right bank of the Missouri, dwell the Aricaras, to the number of 700 warriors; and 60 leagues above them, the Mandane nation, consisting of about 700 warriors likewise. These two last nations are well disposed to the whites, but have been the victims of the Sioux, or Nandowessies, who being themselves well provided with fire-arms, have taken advantage of the defenceless situation of the others, and have on all occasions murdered them without mercy.

No discoveries on the Missouri, beyond the Mandane nation, have been accurately detailed, though the traders have been informed that many large navigable rivers discharge their waters into it, far above it, and that there are many numerous nations settled on them.

The Sioux, or Mandowessies, who frequent the country between the north bank of the Missouri and Mississippi, are a great impediment to trade and navigation. They endeavour to prevent all communication with the nations dwelling high up the Missouri, to deprive them of ammunition and arms, and thus keep them subservient to themselves. In the winter they are chiefly on the banks of the Missouri, and massacre all who fall into their hands.

There are a number of nations at a distance from the banks of the Missouri, to the north and south, concerning whom but little information has been received. Returning to the Mississippi, and ascending it from the Missouri, about 75 leagues above the mouth of the latter, the river Moingona, or Riviere de Moine, enters the Mississippi on the west side; and on it are situated the Ayoas, a nation originally from the Missouri, speaking the language of the Otachatas. It consisted of 200 warriors before the small-pox lately raged among them.

The Saes and Renards dwell on the Mississippi, about 300 leagues above St. Louis, and frequently trade with it. They live together, and consisted of 500 warriors: their chief trade is with Michilimakinac, and they have always been peaceable and friendly.

The other nations on the Mississippi higher up, are but little known to us. The nations of the Missouri, though cruel, treacherous, and insolent, may doubtless be kept in order by the United States if proper regulations are adopted with respect to them.

It is said that no treaties have been entered into by Spain with the Indian nations westward of the Mississippi, and that its treaties with the Creeks, Choctaws, &c., are in effect superceded by our treaty with that power of the 27th October, 1795.

Of Lands and Titles.— The lands are held in some instances by grants from the crown, but mostly from the colonial government. Perhaps not one-quarter part of the lands granted in Louisiana are held by complete titles; and of the remainder a considerable part depends upon a written permission of a commandant. Not a small proportion is held by occupancy with a single verbal permission of the officer last mentioned. This practice has always been countenanced by the Spanish government, in order that poor men, when they found themselves a little at ease, might, at their own conveniencey, apply for and obtain complete titles. In the mean time such imperfect rights were suffered by the government to descend by inheritance, and even to be transferred by private contract. When requisite, they have been seized by judicial authority, and sold for the payment of debts.

Until within a few years the governor of Upper Louisiana was authorized to make surveys of any extent. In the exercise of this discretionary power, some abuses were committed; a few small monopolies were created. About three years ago he was restricted in this branch of his duty, since which he has been only authorised to make surveys to emigrants in the following manner: two hundred acres for each man and wife, fifty acres for each child, and twenty acres for each slave. Hence the quantity of land allowed to settlers depended on the number in each family; and for this quantity of land they paid no more than the expense of survey. These surveys were necessary to entitle the settlers to grants; and the governor, and after him the intendant at New-Orleans, was alone authorised to execute grants on the receipt of the surveys from the settlers. The administration of the land-office is at present under the care of the intendant of the province.

There are no feudal rights nor noblesse.

It is impossible to ascertain the quantity of lands granted, without calling on the claimants to exhibit their titles. The registry being incomplete, and the maps made by the different surveyors-general having been burnt in the fires of New-Orleans of 1788 and 1794, no estimate has been obtained.

All the lands on both sides of the Mississippi from the distance of sixteen leagues below New-Orleans to Baton-Rouge are granted to the depth of forty acres, or near half a league, which is the usual depth of all grants. Some have double and triple grants,— that is to say, they have twice or thrice forty acres in depth; and others have grants extending from the Mississippi to the sea or the lakes behind them. In other parts of the country the people, being generally settled on the banks of creeks or rivers, have a front of from six to forty acres, and the grant almost invariably expresses a depth of forty acres. All the lands ungranted in the island of New-

Orleans or on the opposite bank of the Mississippi are sunken, inundated, and at present unfit for cultivation, but may, in part, be reclaimed at a future day by efforts of the rich and enterprising.

Cultivation of Sugar.— The sugar-cane may be cultivated between the river Iberville and the city, on both sides of the river, and as far back as the swamps. Below the city, however, the lands decline so rapidly that beyond fifteen miles the soil is not well adapted to it. Above the Iberville the cane would be affected by the cold, and its produce would therefore be uncertain. Within these limits the best planters admit that one-quarter of the cultivated lands of any considerable plantation may be planted in cane, one-quarter left in pasture, and the remaining half employed for provisions, &c., and a reserve for a change of crops. One Parisian arpent of one hundred and eighty feet square may be expected to produce, on an average, twelve hundred weight of sugar and fifty gallons of rum.

From the above data, admitting that both sides of the river are planted for ninety miles in extent and about three-fourths of a mile in depth, it will result that the annual product may amount in round numbers to twenty-five thousand hogsheads of sugar, with twelve thousand puncheons of rum. Enterprising young planters say that one-third or even one-half of the arable land might be planted in cane. It may also be remarked that a regular supply of provisions from above at a moderate price would enable the planter to give his attention to a greater body of land cultivated with cane. The whole of these lands, as may be supposed, are granted ; but in the Atacapas country there is undoubtedly a portion, parallel to the seacoast, fit for the culture of the sugar-cane. There vacant lands are to be found, but the proportion is at present unknown.

In the above remarks the lands at Terre aux Bœuf, on the Fourche, Bayou St. Jean, and other inlets of the Mississippi, south of the latitude supposed to divide those which are fit from those which are unfit for the cultivation of the cane, have been entirely kept out of view. Including these and taking one-third instead of one-fourth of the lands fit for sugar, the produce of the whole would be fifty thousand instead of twenty-five thousand hogsheads of sugar.

The following quantities of sugar, brown, clayed, and refined, have been imported into the United States from Louisiana and the Floridas, viz.: —

In 1799 - - - - -	773,542 *lb.*
1800 - - - - -	1,560,865
1801 - - - - -	967,619
1802 - - - - -	1,576,933

Of the Laws.— When the country was first ceded to Spain, she preserved many of the French regulations, but by almost imperceptible degrees they have disappeared, and at present the province is governed entirely by the laws of Spain, and the ordinances formed expressly for the colony. Various ordinances promulgated by General O'Reilly, its first governor under Spain, as well as some other laws, are translated, and annexed in the appendix, No. 1.

Courts of Justice.—The governor's court has a civil and military jurisdiction throughout the province. That of the lieutenant governor has the same extent in civil cases only.

There are two alcades, whose jurisdiction, civil and criminal, extends through the city of New-Orleans and 5 leagues around it, where the parties have no *fuero militar*, or military privilege: those who have can transfer their causes to the governor.

The tribunal of the Intendant has cognizance of admiralty and fiscal causes, and such suits as are brought for the recovery of money in the king's name or against him.

The tribunal of the Alcade Provincial has cognizance of criminal causes, where offences are committed in the country, or when the criminal takes refuge there, and in other specified cases.

The ecclesiastical tribunal has jurisdiction in all matters respecting the church.

The governor, lieutenant governor, Alcades, Intendant, Provincial Alcade, and the Provisor in ecclesiastical causes are respectively sole judges. All sentences affecting the life of the culprit, except those of the Alcade Provincial, must be ratified by the superior tribunal, or captain-general, according to the nature of the cause, before they are carried into execution. The governor has not the power of pardoning criminals. An auditor and an assessor, who are doctors of law, are appointed to give counsel to those judges; but for some time past there has been no assessor. If the judges do not consult those officers or do not follow their opinions, they make themselves responsible for their decisions.

The commandants of districts have also a species of judicial power. They hear and determine all pecuniary causes not exceeding the value of one hundred dollars. When the suit is for a larger sum, they commence the process, collect the proofs, and remit the whole to the governor, to be decided by the proper tribunal. They can inflict no corporal punishment except upon slaves; but they have the power of arresting and imprisoning when they think it necessary, advice of which and their reasons must be transmitted to the governor.

Small suits are determined in a summary way by hearing both parties *viva voce;* but in suits of greater magnitude the proceedings are carried on by petition and reply, replication and rejoinder, reiterated until the auditor thinks they have nothing new to say. Then all the proofs either party chooses to adduce are taken before the keeper of the records of the court, who is always a notary public.

The parties have now an opportunity of making their remarks upon the evidence by way of petition, and of bringing forward opposing proofs. When the auditor considers the cause as mature, he issues his decree, which receives its binding force from the governor's signature, where the cause depends upon him.

There is an appeal to Havanna, if applied for within five days after the date of the decree, in causes above a certain value. An ulterior appeal lies to the Audience which formerly sat at St. Domingo, but which is now removed to some part of Cuba, and from thence to the council of the Indies in Spain.

Suits are of various durations. In pecuniary matters the laws encourage summary proceedings. An execution may be had on a bond in four days and in the same space on a note of hand after the party acknowledges it, or after his signature is proved. Moveable property is sold after giving nine days' warning, provided it be three times publicly cried in that interval. Landed property must be likewise cried three times, with an interval of nine days between each; and it may then be sold. All property taken in execution must be appraised and sold for at least half of the appraisement. In pecuniary matters the governors decide verbally without appeal, when the sum does not exceed one hundred dollars. The Alcades have the same privilege when the amount is not above twenty dollars.

In addition to these courts, four years ago there were established four Alcades de Barrio, or petty magistrates, one for each of the four quarters of the city, with a view to improve its police. They hear and decide all demands not exceeding ten dollars, exercise the power of committing to prison, and, in case of robbery, riot, or assassination, they can, by calling on a notary, take cognizance of the affair; but, when this is done, they are bound to remit the proceedings to some of the other judges, and in all cases whatever to give them information when they have committed any person to prison.

Most of the suits are on personal contracts, rights to dower, inheritances, and titles to land. Those arising from personal quarrels are generally decided in a summary way. The inhabitants are said not to be litigious. . . .

Learning.—There are no colleges, and but one public school, which is at New-Orleans. The masters of this are paid by the king. They teach the Spanish language only. There are a few private schools for children. Not more than half of the inhabitants are supposed to be able to read and write, of whom not more than two hundred perhaps are able to do it well. In general, the learning of the inhabitants does not extend beyond those two arts, though they seem to be endowed with a good natural genius and an uncommon facility of learning whatever they undertake.

The Church.—The clergy consists of a bishop, who does not reside in the province, and whose salary of four thousand dollars is charged on the revenue of certain bishopricks in Mexico and Cuba; two canons, having each a salary of six hundred dollars; and twenty-five curates, five for the city of New-Orleans and twenty for as many country parishes, who receive each from three hundred and sixty to four hundred and eighty dollars a year. Those salaries, except that of the bishop, together with an allowance for sacristans and chapel expences, are paid by the treasury at New-Orleans, and amount annually to thirteen thousand dollars.

There is also at that place a convent of Ursalines, to which is attached about a thousand acres of land, rented out in three plantations. The nuns are now in number not more than ten or twelve, and are all French. There were formerly about the same number of Spanish ladies belonging to the order, but they retired to Havanna during the period when it was expected that the province would be transferred to France. The remaining nuns receive young ladies as boarders, and instruct them in reading, writing, and needle-work.

They have always acted with great propriety, and are generally respected and beloved throughout the province. With the assistance of an annual allowance of six hundred dollars from the treasury, they always support and educate twelve female orphans.

THE LOUISIANA TERRITORY.

From McMaster's History of the People of the United States, Vol. II., 631.

The Province of Louisiana, as the region came to be called, was to the Americans of that day an unknown land. Not a boundary was defined. Not a scrap of trustworthy information concerning the region was to be obtained. Meagre accounts of what travellers had seen on the Missouri, of what hunters and trappers knew of the upper Mississippi, of what the Indians said were the features of the great plains that stretched away toward the setting sun, had indeed reached the officials; and out of these was constructed the most remarkable document any President has ever transmitted to Congress. It told of a tribe of Indians of gigantic stature; of tall bluffs faced with stone and carved by the hand of Nature into what seemed a multitude of antique towers; of land so fertile as to yield the necessaries of life almost spontaneously; of an immense prairie covered with buffalo, and producing nothing but grass because the soil was far too rich for the growth of trees; and how a thousand miles up the Missouri was a vast mountain of salt. The length was one hundred and eighty miles; the breadth was forty-five. Not a tree, not so much as a shrub, was on it; but, all glittering white, it rose from the earth a solid mountain of rock salt, with streams of saline water flowing from the fissures and cavities at its base. The story, the account admitted, might well seem incredible; but, unhappily for the doubters, bushels of the salt had been shown by traders to the people at St. Louis and Marietta.

Even this assurance failed to convince the Federalists. Everywhere they read the story with the scoffs and jeers it so richly deserved. Can the mountain, one journal asked, be

Lot's wife? Has the President, asked another, been reading the "Mysteries of Udolpho"? What a dreadful glare it must make on a sunshiny day! exclaimed a third. No trees on it? How strange! There ought surely to be a salt eagle to perch on the summit and a salt mammoth to clamber up its side. The President, being a cautious philosopher, has surely been afraid to tell us all. He must have kept much back, else we should have seen some samples from that vale of hasty-pudding and that lake of real old Irish usquebaugh that lies at the mountain's base. The stories told fourteen years since about the Ohio country are now surpassed. The pumpkin-vines, the hoop-snakes, the shoe-and-stocking tree of the Muskingum, are but "pepper-corns" beside the mountain of salt.

Bad as was the Federal wit, the labored attempts of the Republican journals to prove the existence of the mountain were more stupid still. The fact was pronounced undoubted. Bits of the salt had reached the President; nay, were to be seen at Washington, at New York, at Boston among the curiosities of Mr. Turell's museum. There the editor of the *Columbian Centinel* had the impudence to assure his readers he had seen a piece the size of a hen's egg from the banks of the Missouri. But one had the courage and good sense to declare the story was half a fable. The editor of the *National Ægis* did not, he asserted, for a moment believe that a huge mountain of salt stood gleaming and glittering in the sun. The deposit was probably a great deep mine, a mountain in extent underground. Neither the President nor any member of the government had explored Louisiana. In describing the country, such facts had to be used as were supplied by travellers, and that class of travellers so much disposed to magnify mole-hills into mountains. What wonder, then, that some fabulous embellishments crept into the account which, undoubtedly, the President sent to Congress without reading through!

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

From Henry Adams's History of the United States, II. 48.

Livingston had achieved the greatest diplomatic success recorded in American history. Neither Franklin, Jay, Gallatin, nor any other American diplomatist was so fortunate as Livingston for the immensity of his results compared with the paucity of his means. Other treaties of immense consequence have been signed by American representatives,— the treaty of alliance with France; the treaty of peace with England, which recognized independence; the treaty of Ghent; the treaty which ceded Florida; the Ashburton treaty; the treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo,— but in none of these did the United States government get so much for so little. The annexation of Louisiana was an event so portentous as to defy measurement. It gave a new face to politics, and ranked in historical importance next to the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution,— events of which it was the logical outcome; but as a matter of diplomacy it was unparalleled, because it cost almost nothing.

The purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803 constituted the first great chapter in the history of our national expansion. This purchase doubled the area of the United States, adding over 900,000 square miles. It comprised almost the entire region between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, north of Texas,— the territory out of which have since been formed the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana, North and South Dakota, with a great part of the States of Minnesota and Colorado, and also the Indian Territory, including Oklahoma. By a secret convention in 1762, confirmed by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, France had given this vast territory to Spain; and the control which Spain thus had of the mouth of the Mississippi became, as years went on, a matter of more and more serious concern to our Western people, for whom the Mississippi and its tributaries were the great avenues of travel and of trade. Our sagacious statesmen saw early what serious consequences might be involved in the situation. Franklin said to Jay in 1784: "I would rather agree with the Spaniards to buy at a great price the whole of their right on the Mississippi than sell a drop of its waters. A neighbor might as well ask me to sell my street-door." Jefferson devoted his earnest thought to the subject years before 1803. As Secretary of State in 1790, when there seemed to be some danger of Great Britain seizing New Orleans, he expressed to Washington his opinion that, rather than see Louisiana and Florida added to the British Empire, we should take part in the general war which then seemed impending; and at the same time he warned the French to let the territory alone. In 1801 Spain, by a secret treaty, ceded the territory back to France. Napoleon planned a great expedition and colony for Louisiana, and had ambitious thoughts of the restoration in America of the French power which fell before England at Quebec. The intimations of the cession from Spain to France created much disturbance and alarm in America. "Kentucky was in a flame. The President was deeply stirred. The Spaniards had retained Louisiana on sufferance: the United States could have it at *any* time from *them*. But the French would be likely to hold their ancient possessions with a tighter clutch, and not content themselves with two or three trading-posts in a fertile territory large enough for an empire. Jefferson, from the hour when the intelligence reached him, had only this thought: The French must not have New Orleans. No one but ourselves must own our own street-door." He addressed urgent instructions and suggestions to Mr. Livingston, our minister at Paris, embodying considerations which he knew would find their way to Napoleon. The United States could not let the French control the mouth of the Mississippi, and a conflict about it might finally necessitate an alliance of some sort between ourselves and Great Britain.

Early in 1803 Jefferson sent Mr. Monroe, as a special ambassador, to join Mr. Livingston in Paris, charged with the fullest instructions, and authorized to give two million dollars, if he could do no better, for the island of New Orleans alone. Monroe arrived to find France on the eve of war with England, and Napoleon in active negotiations with Livingston for the transfer to the United States of the whole of Louisiana. Napoleon knew that the British fleet could easily keep French forces away from the Mississippi; and, rather than have Great Britain seize Louisiana, he would sell it to the United States, getting what money he could out of it for use in the impending war. "I know the full value of Louisiana," he said, "and I have been desirous of repairing the fault of the French negotiators who abandoned it in 1763. But, if it escapes from me, it shall one day cost dearer to those who oblige me to strip myself of it than to those to whom I wish to deliver it. The English have successively taken from France Canada, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the richest portions of Asia. They shall not have the Mississippi, which they covet. . . . I already consider the colony as entirely lost; and it appears to me that, in the hands of this growing power, it will be more useful to the policy and even to the commerce of France than if I should attempt to keep it." "I have given to England," he said afterward, "a maritime rival that will, sooner or later, humble her pride." The terms of the sale—"probably the largest transaction in real estate which the world has ever known"—were agreed upon after considerable bickering, the sum paid by the United States being fifteen million dollars. The treaty contained a positive provision that "the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States." M. Marbois, the French minister, relates that, as soon as the three negotiators had signed the treaties, they all rose, and shook hands; and Mr. Livingston gave utterance to the joy and satisfaction of them all, saying:—

"We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art nor dictated by force, and is equally advantageous to the two contracting parties. It will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank. The United States will re-establish the maritime rights of all the world, which are now usurped by a single nation. The instruments which we have just signed will cause no tears to be shed: they prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures. The Mississippi and the Missouri will see them succeed one another and multiply, truly worthy of the regard and care of Providence, in the bosom of equality, under just laws, freed from the errors of superstition and bad government."

The general ignorance concerning the Louisiana territory, on the part of the American people at the time of the purchase, was very great: even the boundaries were far from being clearly defined. For the sake of furnishing the best information available, Jefferson had prepared and submitted to Congress the document whose more important portions are reprinted in the present leaflet. Besides what is here given, the document contained accounts of the existing political organization, of the exports, imports, and navigation, and, in an appendix, census details and other matter. The document, which performed for that time a function similar to that of the report of the Philippine Commission in our time, was printed in pamphlet form by various publishers for general circulation. The edition used for the present reprint was published by John Conrad and Company of Philadelphia, 1803.

The best general account of the purchase of Louisiana and of the debates and legislation incident to it is that by Henry Adams in his History of the United States during the Administration of Thomas Jefferson, vol. ii. See also Cooley's "Acquisition of Louisiana." The subject has prominent place in all the biographies of Jefferson. There is an excellent brief account in Gilman's Life of Monroe, in the American Statesmen Series; and the bibliography of the subject, by Professor J. F. Jameson, in the appendix to that volume, is the best to which the student can be referred. See also the references in the valuable chapter on "Territorial Acquisitions and Divisions," by Justin Winsor and Professor Edward Channing, in the Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. vii. The original letters of Livingston and Monroe, giving accounts of the negotiations in Paris, appear in the American State Papers, Foreign Relations, ii.; and there is a history of the cession by Barbé-Marbois, one of the French negotiators.

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The Government of the United States.

By JOHN C. CALHOUN.

FROM CALHOUN'S "DISCOURSE ON THE CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

Ours is a system of government, compounded of the separate governments of the several States composing the Union, and of one common government of all its members, called the Government of the United States. The former preceded the latter, which was created by their agency. Each was framed by written constitutions; those of the several States by the people of each, acting separately, and in their sovereign character; and that of the United States, by the same, acting in the same character,— but jointly instead of separately. All were formed on the same model. They all divide the powers of government into legislative, executive, and judicial; and are founded on the great principle of the responsibility of the rulers to the ruled. The entire powers of government are divided between the two; those of a more general character being specifically delegated to the United States; and all others not delegated, being reserved to the several States in their separate character. Each, within its appropriate sphere, possesses all the attributes, and performs all the functions of government. Neither is perfect without the other. The two combined, form one entire and perfect government. With these preliminary remarks, I shall proceed to the consideration of the immediate subject of this discourse.

The Government of the United States was formed by the Constitution of the United States; — and ours is a democratic, federal republic.

It is democratic, in contradistinction to aristocracy and monarchy. It excludes classes, orders, and all artificial distinctions. To guard against their introduction, the constitution prohibits the granting of any title of nobility by the United States, or by any State.* The whole system is, indeed, democratic throughout. It has for its fundamental principle, the great cardinal maxim, that the people are the source of all power; that the governments of the several States and of the United States were created by them, and for them; that the powers conferred on them are not surrendered, but delegated; and, as such, are held in trust, and not absolutely; and can be rightfully exercised only in furtherance of the objects for which they were delegated.

It is federal as well as democratic. *Federal*, on the one hand, in contradistinction to *national*, and, on the other, to a *confederacy*. In showing this, I shall begin with the former.

It is federal, because it is the government of States united in a political union, in contradistinction to a government of individuals socially united; that is, by what is usually called, a social compact. To express it more concisely, it is federal and not national, because it is the government of a community of States, and not the government of a single State or nation.

That it is federal and not national, we have the high authority of the convention which framed it. General Washington, as its organ, in his letter submitting the plan to the consideration of the Congress of the then confederacy, calls it, in one place,— "the general government of the Union;" — and in another,— "the federal government of these States." Taken together, the plain meaning is, that the government proposed would be, if adopted, the government of the States adopting it, in their united character as members of a common Union; and, as such, would be a federal government. These expressions were not used without due consideration, and an accurate and full knowledge of their true import. The subject was not a novel one. The convention was familiar with it. It was much agitated in their deliberations. They divided, in reference to it, in the early stages of their proceedings. At first, one party was in favor of a national and the other of a federal government. The former, in the beginning, prevailed; and in the plans which they proposed, the constitution and government are styled "National." But, finally, the latter gained the ascendency, when the term "National" was superseded, and "*United States*" substituted in its place. The constitution was accordingly styled,—"*The constitution of the United States of America;*"— and the government,—"*The government of the United States:*" leaving out "America," for the sake of brevity. It cannot admit of a doubt, that the Convention, by the expression "United States," meant the States united in a federal Union; for in no other sense could they, with propriety, call the government, "*the federal government of these States,*"— and "*the general government of the Union,*"— as they did in the letter referred to. It is thus clear, that the Convention regarded the different expressions,—"the federal government of the United States;"—"the general government of the Union,"— and,—"government of the United States,"— as meaning the same thing,— a federal, in contradistinction to a national government.

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* 1st Art., 9 and 10 Sec.

Assuming it then, as established, that they are the same, it is only necessary, in order to ascertain with precision, what they meant by "*federal government,*"— to ascertain what they meant by "*the government of the United States.*" For this purpose it will be necessary to trace the expression to its origin.

It was, at that time, as our history shows, an old and familiar phrase,— having a known and well-defined meaning. Its use commenced with the political birth of these States; and it has been applied to them, in all the forms of government through which they have passed, without alteration. The style of the present constitution and government is precisely the style by which the confederacy that existed when it was adopted, and which it superseded, was designated. The instrument that formed the latter was called,— "*Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union.*" Its first article declares that the style of this confederacy shall be, "The United States of America;" and the second, in order to leave no doubt as to the relation in which the States should stand to each other in the confederacy about to be formed, declared,— "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence; and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not, by this confederation, expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." If we go one step further back, the style of the confederacy will be found to be the same with that of the revolutionary government, which existed when it was adopted, and which it superseded. It dates its origin with the Declaration of Independence. That act is styled,— "The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America." And here again, that there might be no doubt how these States would stand to each other in the new condition in which they were about to be placed, it concluded by declaring,— "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States"; "and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do." The "United States" is, then, the baptismal name of these States,— received at their birth;— by which they have ever since continued to call themselves; by which they have characterized their constitution, government and laws;— and by which they are known to the rest of the world.

The retention of the same style, throughout every stage of their existence, affords strong, if not conclusive evidence that the political relation between these States, under their present constitution and government, is substantially the same as under the confederacy and revolutionary government; and what that relation was, we are not left to doubt; as they are declared expressly to be "*free*, *independent* and *sovereign* States." They, then, are now united, and have been, throughout, simply as confederated States. If it had been intended by the members of the convention which framed the present constitution and government, to make any essential change, either in the relation of the States to each other, or the basis of their union, they would, by retaining the style which designated them under the preceding governments, have practised a deception, utterly unworthy of their character, as sincere and honest men and patriots. It may, therefore, be fairly inferred, that, retaining the same style, they intended to attach to the expression,— "the United States," the same meaning, substantially, which it previously had; and, of course, in calling the present government,— "the federal government of these States," they meant by "federal," that they stood in the same relation to each other,— that their union rested, without material change, on the same basis,— as under the confederacy and the revolutionary government; and that federal, and confederated States, meant substantially the same thing. It follows, also, that the changes made by the present constitution were not in the foundation, but in the superstructure of the system.

We accordingly find, in confirmation of this conclusion, that the convention, in their letter to Congress, stating the reasons for the changes that had been made, refer only to the necessity which required a different "*organization*" of the government, without making any allusion whatever to any change in the relations of the States towards each other,— or the basis of the system. They state that, "the friends of our country have long seen and desired, that the power of making war, peace, and treaties; that of levying money and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities, should be fully and effectually vested in the Government of the Union: but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trusts to one body of men is evident; hence results the necessity of a *different organization*." Comment is unnecessary.

We thus have the authority of the convention itself for asserting that the expression, "United States," has essentially the same meaning, when applied to the present constitution and government, as it had previously; and, of course, that the States have retained their separate existence, as independent and sovereign communities, in all the forms of political existence, through which they have passed. Such, indeed, is the literal import of the expression,— "the United States,"— and the sense in which it is ever used, when it is applied politically,— I say, *politically*,— because it is often applied, *geographically*, to designate the portion of this continent occupied by the States composing the Union, including territories belonging to them. This application arose from the fact, that there was no appropriate term for that portion of this continent; and thus, not unnaturally, the name by which these States are politically designated, was employed to designate the region they occupy and possess. The distinction is important, and cannot be overlooked in discussing questions involving the character and nature of the government, without causing great confusion and dangerous misconceptions.

But as conclusive as these reasons are to prove that the government of the United States is federal, in contradistinction to national, it would seem, that they have not been sufficient to prevent the opposite opinion from being entertained. Indeed, this last seems to have become the prevailing one; if we may judge from the general use of the term "national," and the almost entire disuse of that of "federal." National is now commonly applied to "the general government of the Union,"

—and "the federal government of these States,"—and all that appertains to them or to the Union. It seems to be forgotten that the term was repudiated by the convention, after full consideration; and that it was carefully excluded from the constitution, and the letter laying it before Congress. Even those who know all this,—and, of course, how falsely the term is applied,—have, for the most part, slided into its use without reflection. But there are not a few who so apply it, because they believe it to be a national government in fact; and among these are men of distinguished talents and standing, who have put forth all their powers of reason and eloquence, in support of the theory. The question involved is one of the first magnitude, and deserves to be investigated thoroughly in all its aspects. With this impression, I deem it proper,—clear and conclusive as I regard the reasons already assigned to prove its federal character,—to confirm them by historical references; and to repel the arguments adduced to prove it to be a national government. I shall begin with the formation and ratification of the constitution.

That the States, when they formed and ratified the constitution, were distinct, independent, and sovereign communities, has already been established. That the people of the several States, acting in their separate, independent, and sovereign character, adopted their separate State constitutions, is a fact uncontested and incontestable; but it is not more certain than that, acting in the same character, they ratified and adopted the constitution of the United States; with this difference only, that in making and adopting the one, they acted without concert or agreement; but, in the other, with concert in making, and mutual agreement in adopting it. That the delegates who constituted the convention which framed the constitution, were appointed by the several States, each on its own authority; that they voted in the convention by States; and that their votes were counted by States,—are recorded and unquestionable facts. So, also, the facts that the constitution, when framed, was submitted to the people of the several States for their respective ratification; that it was ratified by them, each for itself; and that it was binding on each, only in consequence of its being so ratified by it. Until then, it was but the plan of a constitution, without any binding force. It was the act of ratification which established it as a constitution between the States ratifying it; and only between *them*, on the condition that not less than nine of the then thirteen States should concur in the ratification;—as is expressly provided by its seventh and last article. It is in the following words: "The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the States so ratifying the same." If additional proof be needed to show that it was only binding between the States that ratified it, it may be found in the fact, that two States, North Carolina and Rhode Island, refused, at first, to ratify; and were, in consequence, regarded in the interval as foreign States, without obligation, on their parts, to respect it, or, on the part of their citizens, to obey it. Thus far, there can be no difference of opinion. The facts are too recent and too well established,—and the provision of the constitution too explicit, to admit of doubt.

That the States, then, retained, after the ratification of the constitution, the distinct, independent, and sovereign character in which they formed and ratified it, is certain; unless they divested themselves of it by the act of ratification, or by some provision of the constitution. If they have not, the constitution must be federal, and not national; for it would have, in that case, every attribute necessary to constitute it federal, and not one to make it national. On the other hand, if they have divested themselves, then it would necessarily lose its federal character, and become national. Whether, then, the government is federal or national, is reduced to a single question; whether the act of ratification, of itself, or the constitution, by some one, or all of its provisions, did, or did not, divest the several States of their character of separate, independent, and sovereign communities, and merge them all in one great community or nation, called the American people?

Before entering on the consideration of this important question, it is proper to remark, that, on its decision, the character of the government, as well as the constitution, depends. The former must, necessarily, partake of the character of the latter, as it is but its agent, created by it, to carry its powers into effect. Accordingly, then, as the constitution is federal or national, so must the government be; and I shall, therefore, use them indiscriminately in discussing the subject.

Of all the questions which can arise under our system of government, this is by far the most important. It involves many others of great magnitude; and among them, that of the allegiance of the citizen; or, in other words, the question to whom allegiance and obedience are ultimately due. What is the true relation between the two governments,— that of the United States, and those of the several States? and what is the relation between the individuals respectively composing them? For it is clear, if the States still retain their sovereignty as separate and independent communities, the allegiance and obedience of the citizens of each would be due to their respective States; and that the government of the United States and those of the several States would stand as equals and co-ordinates in their respective spheres; and, instead of being united socially, their citizens would be politically connected through their respective States. On the contrary, if they have, by ratifying the constitution, divested themselves of their individuality and sovereignty, and merged themselves into one great community or nation, it is equally clear, that the sovereignty would reside in the whole,— or what is called the American people; and that allegiance and obedience would be due to them. Nor is it less so, that the government of the several States would, in such case, stand to that of the United States, in the relation of inferior and subordinate, to superior and paramount; and that the individuals of the several States, thus fused, as it were, into one general mass, would be united *socially*, and not *politically*. So great a change of condition would have involved a thorough and radical revolution, both socially and politically,— a revolution much more radical, indeed, than that which followed the Declaration of Independence.

They who maintain that the ratification of the constitution effected so mighty a change, are bound to establish it by the most demonstrative proof. The presumption is strongly opposed to it. It has already been shown, that the authority of the convention which formed the constitution is clearly against it; and that the history of its ratification, instead of supplying evidence in its favor, furnishes strong testimony in opposition to it. To these, others may be added; and, among them, the presumption drawn from the history of these States, in all the stages of their existence down to the time of the ratification of the constitution. In all, they formed separate, and, as it respects each other, independent communities; and were ever remarkable for the tenacity with which they adhered to their rights as such. It constituted, during the whole period, one of the most striking traits in their character,— as a very brief sketch will show.

During their colonial condition, they formed distinct communities,— each with its separate charter and government,— and in no way connected with each other, except as dependent members of a common empire. Their first union amongst themselves was, in resistance to the encroachments of the parent country on their chartered rights,— when they adopted the title of,— "the United Colonies." Under that name they acted, until they declared their independence; — always, in their joint councils, voting and acting as separate and distinct communities; — and not in the aggregate, as composing one community or nation. They acted in the same character in declaring independence; by which act they passed from their dependent, colonial condition, into that of free and sovereign States. The declaration was made by delegates appointed by the several colonies, each for itself, and on its own authority. The vote making the declaration was taken by delegations, each counting one. The declaration was announced to be unanimous, not because every delegate voted for it, but because the majority of each delegation did; showing clearly, that the body itself, regarded it as the united act of the several colonies, and not the act of the whole as one community. To leave no doubt on a point so important, and in reference to which the several colonies were so tenacious, the declaration was made in the name, and by the authority of the people of the colonies, represented in Congress; and that was followed by declaring them to be,—"free and independent States." The act was, in fact, but a formal and solemn annunciation to the world, that the colonies had ceased to be dependent communities, and had become free and independent States; without involving any other change in their relations with each other, than those necessarily incident to a separation from the parent country. So far were they from supposing, or intending that it should have the effect of merging their existence, as separate communities, into one nation, that they had appointed a committee,— which was actually sitting, while the declaration was under discussion,—to prepare a plan of a confederacy of the States, preparatory to entering into their new condition. In fulfilment of their appointment, this committee prepared the draft of the articles of confederation and perpetual union, which afterwards was adopted by the governments of the several States. That it instituted a mere confederacy and union of the States has already been shown. That, in forming and assenting to it, the States were exceedingly jealous and watchful in delegating power, even to a confederacy; that they granted the powers delegated most reluctantly and sparingly; that several of them long stood out, under all the pressure of the revolutionary war, before they acceded to it; and that, during the interval which elapsed between its adoption and that of the present constitution, they evinced, under the most urgent necessity, the same reluctance and jealousy, in delegating power,— are facts which cannot be disputed.

To this may be added another circumstance of no little weight, drawn from the preliminary steps taken for the ratification of the constitution. The plan was laid, by the convention, before the Congress of the confederacy, for its consideration and action, as has been stated. It was the sole organ and representative of these States in their confederated character. By submitting it, the convention recognized and acknowledged its authority over it, as the organ of distinct, independent, and sovereign States. It had the right to dispose of it as it pleased; and, if it had thought proper, it might have defeated the plan by simply omitting to act on it. But it thought proper to act, and to adopt the course recommended by the convention;— which was, to submit it,—"to a convention of delegates, chosen in each State, by the people thereof, for their assent and adoption." All this was in strict accord with the federal character of the constitution, but wholly repugnant to the idea of its being national. It received the assent of the States in all the possible modes in which it could be obtained: first,— in their confederated character, through its only appropriate organ, the Congress; next, in their individual character, as separate States, through their respective State governments, to which the Congress referred it; and finally, in their high character of independent and sovereign communities, through a convention of the people, called in each State, by the authority of its government. The States acting in these various capacities, might, at every stage, have defeated it or not, at their option, by giving or withholding their consent.

With this weight of presumptive evidence, to use no stronger expression, in favor of its federal, in contradistinction to its national character, I shall next proceed to show, that the ratification of the constitution, instead of furnishing proof against, contains additional and conclusive evidence in its favor.

We are not left to conjecture, as to what was meant by the ratification of the constitution, or its effects. The expressions used by the conventions of the States, in ratifying it, and those used by the constitution in connection with it, afford ample means of ascertaining with accuracy, both its meaning and effect. The usual form of expression used by the former is: — "We, the delegates of the State," (naming the State,) "do, in behalf of the people of the State, assent to, and ratify the said constitution." All use, "ratify,"— and all, except North Carolina, use, "assent to." The delegates of that State use, "adopt," instead of "assent to;" a variance merely in the form of expression, without, in any degree, affecting the meaning. Ratification was, then, the act of the several States in their separate capacity. It was performed by delegates appointed expressly for the purpose. Each appointed its own delegates; and the delegates of each, acted in the name of, and for the State appointing them. Their act consisted in, "assenting to," or, what is the same thing, "adopting and ratifying" the constitution.

By turning to the seventh article of the constitution, and to the preamble, it will be found what was the effect of ratifying. The article expressly provides, that, "the ratification of the conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution, between the States so ratifying the same." The preamble of the constitution is in the following words; — "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America." The effect, then, of its ratification was, to ordain and establish the constitution; — and, thereby, to make, what was before but a plan,—"The constitution of the United States of America." All this is clear.

It remains now to show, *by whom*, it was ordained and established; *for whom*, it was ordained and established; *for what*, it was ordained and established; and *over whom*, it was ordained and established. These will be considered in the order in which they stand.

Nothing more is necessary, in order to show by whom it was ordained and established, than to ascertain who are meant by, —"We, the people of the United States;" for, by their authority, it was done. To this there can be but one answer:—it meant the people who ratified the instrument; for it was the act of ratification which ordained and established it. Who they were, admits of no doubt. The process preparatory to ratification, and the acts by which it was done, prove, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that it was ratified by the several States, through conventions of delegates, chosen in each State by the people thereof; and acting, each in the name and by the authority of its State: and, as all the States ratified it,—"We, the people of the United States,"—mean,—We, the people of the several States of the Union. The inference is irresistible. And when it is considered that the States of the Union were then members of the confederacy,—and that, by the express provision of one of its articles, "each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence," the proof is demonstrative, that,—"We, the people of the United States of America," mean the people of the several States of the Union, acting as free, independent, and sovereign States. This strikingly confirms what has been already stated; to wit, that the convention which formed the constitution, meant the same thing by the terms,—"United States,"—and, "federal,"—when applied to the constitution or government;—and that the former, when used politically, always mean,—these States united as independent and sovereign communities.

Having shown, *by whom*, it was ordained, there will be no difficulty in determining, *for whom*, it was ordained. The preamble is explicit;—it was ordained and established for,—"The United States of America;" adding, "America," in conformity to the style of the then confederacy, and the Declaration of Independence. Assuming, then, that the "United States" bears the same meaning in the conclusion of the preamble, as it does in its commencement, (and no reason can be assigned why it should not,) it follows, necessarily, that the constitution was ordained and established *for* the people of the several States, *by* whom it was ordained and established.

Nor will there be any difficulty in showing, *for what*, it was ordained and established. The preamble enumerates the objects. They are,—"to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." To effect these objects, they ordained and established, to use their own language,—"the constitution for the United States of America;"—clearly meaning by "for," that it was intended to be *their* constitution; and that the objects of ordaining and establishing it were, to perfect *their* union, to establish justice among *them*—to insure *their* domestic tranquillity, to provide for *their* common defence and general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to *them* and *their* posterity. Taken all together, it follows, from what has been stated, that the constitution was ordained and established *by* the several States, as *distinct, sovereign communities;* and that it was ordained and established by them for *themselves*—for their common welfare and safety, as *distinct and sovereign communities.*

It remains to be shown, *over whom*, it was ordained and established. That it was not over *the several States*, is settled by the seventh article beyond controversy. It declares, that the ratification by nine States shall be sufficient to establish the constitution between the States so ratifying. "Between," necessarily excludes "*over;*"—as that which is *between* States cannot be *over* them. Reason itself, if the constitution had been silent, would have led, with equal certainty, to the same conclusion. For it was the several States, or, what is the same thing, their people, in their sovereign capacity, who ordained and established the constitution. But the authority which ordains and establishes, is higher than that which is ordained and established; and, of course, the latter must be subordinate to the former;—and cannot, therefore, be *over* it. "Between," always means more than over;—and implies in this case, that the authority which ordained and established the constitution, was the joint and united authority of the States ratifying it; and that, among the effects of their ratification, it became a contract between them; and, *as a compact*, binding on them;—but only as such. In that sense the term, "between," is appropriately applied. In no other, can it be. It was, doubtless, used in that sense in this instance; but the question still remains, *over whom*, was it ordained and established? After what has been stated, the answer may be readily given. It was *over the government* which it created, and all its functionaries in their official character,—and the individuals composing and inhabiting the several States, as far as they might come within the sphere of the powers delegated to the United States.

I have now shown, conclusively, by arguments drawn from the act of ratification, and the constitution itself, that the several States of the Union, acting in their confederated character, ordained and established the constitution; that they ordained and established it for themselves, in the same character; that they ordained and established it for their welfare and safety, in the like character; that they established it as a compact *between* them, and not as a constitution *over* them; and that, as a compact, they are parties to it, in the same character. I have thus established, conclusively, that these States, in ratifying the constitution, did not lose the confederated character which they possessed when they ratified it, as well as in all the preceding stages of their existence; but, on the contrary, still retained it to the full.

Those who oppose this conclusion, and maintain the national character of the government, rely, in support of their views, mainly on the expressions, "we, the people of the United States," used in the first part of the preamble; and, "do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America," used in its conclusion. Taken together, they insist, in the first place, that, "we, the people," mean, the people in their individual character, as forming a single community; and that, "the United States of America," designates them in their aggregate character, as the American people. In maintaining this construction, they rely on the omission to enumerate the States by name, after the word "people," (so as to make it read, "We, the people of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, &c.," as was done in the articles of the confederation, and, also, in signing the Declaration of Independence;) — and, instead of this, the simple use of the general term "United States."

However plausible this may appear, an explanation perfectly satisfactory may be given, why the expression, as it now stands, was used by the framers of the constitution; and why it should not receive the meaning attempted to be placed upon it. It is conceded that, if the enumeration of the States after the word, "people," had been made, the expression would have been freed from all ambiguity; and the inference and argument founded on the failure to do so, left without pretext or support. The omission is certainly striking, but it can be readily explained. It was made intentionally, and solely from the necessity of the case. The first draft of the constitution contained an enumeration of the States, by name, after the word "people;" but it became impossible to retain it after the adoption of the seventh and last article. which provided, that the ratification by nine States should be sufficient to establish the constitution as between *them;* and for the plain reason, that it was impossible to determine, whether all the States would ratify; — or, if any failed, which, and how many of the number; or, if nine should ratify, how to designate them. No alternative was thus left but to omit the enumeration, and to insert the "United States of America," in its place. And yet, an omission, so readily and so satisfactorily explained, has been seized on, as furnishing strong proof that the government was ordained and established by the American people, in the aggregate,— and is therefore national.

But the omission, of itself, would have caused no difficulty, had there not been connected with it a twofold ambiguity in the expression as it now stands. The term "*United States*," which always means, in constitutional language, the several States in their confederated character, means also, as has been shown, when applied geographically, the country occupied and possessed by them. While the term "people," has, in the English language, no plural, and is necessarily used in the singular number, even when applied to many communities or states confederated in a common union,— as is the case with the United States. Availing themselves of this double ambiguity, and the omission to enumerate the States by name, the advocates of the national theory of the government, assuming that, "*we, the people*," meant individuals generally, and not people as forming States; and that "*United States*" was used in a geographical and not a political sense, made out an argument of some plausibility, in favor of the conclusion that, "we, the people of the United States of America," meant the aggregate population of the States regarded *en masse*, and not in their distinctive character as forming separate political communities. But in this gratuitous assumption, and the conclusion drawn from it, they overlooked the stubborn fact, that the very people who ordained and established the constitution, are identically the same who ratified it; for it was by the act of ratification alone, that it was ordained and established,— as has been conclusively shown. This fact, of itself, sweeps away every vestige of the argument drawn from the ambiguity of those terms, as used in the preamble.

They next rely, in support of their theory, on the expression, —"ordained and established this constitution." They admit that the constitution, in its incipient state, assumed the form of a compact; but contend that, "ordained and established," as applied to the constitution and government, are incompatible with the idea of compact; that, consequently, the instrument or plan lost its federative character when it was ordained and established as a constitution; and, thus, the States ceased to be parties to a compact, and members of a confederated union, and became fused into one common community, or nation, as subordinate and dependent divisions or corporations.

I do not deem it necessary to discuss the question whether there is any incompatibility between the terms,—"ordained and established,"—and that of "compact," on which the whole argument rests; although it would be no difficult task to show that it is a gratuitous assumption, without any foundation whatever for its support. It is sufficient for my purpose, to show, that the assumption is wholly inconsistent with the constitution itself;—as much so, as the conclusion drawn from it has been shown to be inconsistent with the opinion of the convention which formed it. Very little will be required, after what has been already stated, to establish what I propose.

That the constitution regards itself in the light of a compact, still existing between the States, after it was ordained and established; that it regards the union, then existing, as still existing; and the several States, of course, still members of it, in their original character of confederated States, is clear. Its seventh article, so often referred to, in connection with the arguments drawn from the preamble, sufficiently establishes all these points, without adducing others; except that which relates to the continuance of the union. To establish this, it will not be necessary to travel out of the preamble and the letter of the convention, laying the plan of the constitution before the Congress of the confederation. In enumerating the objects for which the constitution was ordained and established, the preamble places at the head of the rest, as its leading object,—"to form a more perfect union." So far, then, are the terms,—"ordained and established," from being incompatible with the union, or having the effect of destroying it, the constitution itself declares that it was intended, "to form a more perfect union." This, of itself, is sufficient to refute the assertion of their incompatibility. But it is proper here to remark, that it could not have been intended, by the expression in the preamble,—"to form a more perfect union,"—to declare, that the old was abolished, and a new and more perfect union established in its place: for we have the authority of the convention which formed the constitution, to prove that their object was to continue the then existing union. In their letter, laying it before Congress, they say,—"In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us, the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our union." "Our union," can refer to no other than the then existing union,—the old union of the confederacy, and of the revolutionary government which preceded it,—of which these States were confederated members. This must, of course, have been the union to which the framers referred in the preamble. It was this, accordingly, which the constitution intended to make more perfect; just as the confederacy made more perfect, that of the revolutionary government. Nor is there any thing in the term, "consolidation," used by the convention, calculated to weaken the conclusion. It is a strong expression; but as strong as it is, it certainly was not intended to imply the destruction of the union, as it is supposed to do by the advocates of a national government; for that would have been incompatible with the context, as well as with the continuance of the union,—which the sentence and the entire letter imply. Interpreted, then, in conjunction with the expression used in the preamble,—"to form a more perfect union,"—although it may more strongly intimate closeness of connection; it can imply nothing incompatible with the professed object of perfecting the union,—still less a meaning and effect wholly inconsistent with the nature of a confederated community. For to adopt the interpretation contended for, to its full extent, would be to *destroy* the union, and not to consolidate and perfect it.

If we turn from the preamble and the ratifications, to the body of the constitution, we shall find that it furnishes most conclusive proof that the government is federal, and not national. I can discover nothing, in any portion of it, which gives the least countenance to the opposite conclusion. On the contrary, the instrument, in all its parts, repels it. It is, throughout, federal. It everywhere recognizes the existence of the States, and invokes their aid to carry its powers into execution. In one of the two houses of Congress, the members are elected by the legislatures of their respective States; and in the other, by the people of the several States, not as composing mere districts of one great community, but as distinct and independent communities. General Washington vetoed the first act apportioning the members of the House of Representatives among the several States, under the first census, expressly on the ground, that the act assumed as its basis, the former, and not the latter construction. The President and Vice-President are chosen by electors, appointed by their respective States; and, finally, the Judges are appointed by the President and the Senate; and, of course, as these are elected by the States, they are appointed through their agency.

But, however strong be the proofs of its federal character derived from this source, that portion which provides for the amendment of the constitution, furnishes, if possible, still stronger. It shows, conclusively, that the people of the several States still retain that supreme ultimate power, called sovereignty; — the power by which they ordained and established the constitution; and which can rightfully create, modify, amend, or abolish it, at its pleasure. Wherever this power resides, there the sovereignty is to be found. That it still continues to exist in the several States, in a modified form, is clearly shown by the fifth article of the constitution, which provides for its amendment. By its provisions, Congress may propose amendments, on its own authority, by the vote of two-thirds of both houses; or it may be compelled to call a convention to propose them, by two-thirds of the legislatures of the several States: but, in either case, they remain, when thus made, mere proposals of no validity, until adopted by three-fourths of the States, through their respective legislatures; or by conventions, called by them, for the purpose. Thus far, the several States, in ordaining and establishing the constitution, agreed, for their mutual convenience and advantage, to modify, by compact, their high sovereign power of creating and establishing constitutions, as far as it related to the constitution and government of the United States. I say, for their mutual convenience and advantage; for without the modification, it would have required the separate consent of all the States of the Union to alter or amend their constitutional compact; in like manner as it required the consent of all to establish it between them; and to obviate the almost insuperable difficulty of making such amendments as time and experience might prove to be necessary, by the unanimous consent of all, they agreed to make the modification. But that they did not intend, by this, to divest themselves of the high sovereign right, (a right which they still retain, notwithstanding the modification,) to change or abolish the present constitution and government at their pleasure, cannot be doubted. It is an acknowledged principle, that sovereigns may, by compact, modify or qualify the exercise of their power, without impairing their sovereignty; of which, the confederacy existing at the time, furnishes a striking illustration. It must reside, unimpaired and in its plentitude, somewhere. And if it do not reside in the people of the several States, in their confederated character, where,—so far as it relates to the constitution and government of the United States,—can it be found? Not, certainly, in the government; for, according to our theory, sovereignty resides in the people, and not in the government. That it cannot be found in the people, taken in the aggregate, as forming one community or nation, is equally certain. But as certain as it cannot, just so certain is it, that it must reside in the people of the several States: and if it reside in them at all, it must reside in them as separate and distinct communities; for it has been shown, that it does not reside in them in the aggregate, as forming one community or nation. These are the only aspects under which it is possible to regard the people; and, just as certain as it resides in them, in that character, so certain is it that ours is a federal, and not a national government.

WEBSTER'S TRIBUTE TO CALHOUN.

Speech in the Senate, April 1, 1850, *the Day after Mr. Calhoun's Death.*

I hope the Senate will indulge me in adding a very few words to what has been said. My apology for this presumption is the very long acquaintance which has subsisted between Mr. Calhoun and myself. We are of the same age. I made my first entrance into the House of Representatives in May, 1813, and there found Mr. Calhoun. He had already been in that body for two or three years. I found him then an active and efficient member of the assembly to which he belonged, taking a decided part, and exercising a decided influence, in all its deliberations.

From that day to the day of his death, amidst all the strifes of party and politics, there has subsisted between us, always, and without interruption, a great degree of personal kindness.

Differing widely on many great questions respecting the institutions and government of the country, those differences never interrupted our personal and social intercourse. I have been present at most of the distinguished instances of the exhibition of his talents in debate. I have always heard him with pleasure, often with much instruction, not unfrequently with the highest degree of admiration.

Mr. Calhoun was calculated to be a leader in whatsoever association of political friends he was thrown. He was a man of undoubted genius and of commanding talent. All the country and the world admit that.

His mind was both perceptive and vigorous. It was clear, quick, and strong.

Sir, the eloquence of Mr. Calhoun or the manner of his exhibition of his sentiments in public bodies was part of his intellectual character. It grew out of the qualities of his mind. It was plain, strong, terse, condensed, concise; sometimes impassioned, still always severe. Rejecting ornament, not often seeking far for illustration, his power consisted in the plainness of his propositions, in the closeness of his logic, and in the earnestness and energy of his manner. These are the qualities, as I think, which have enabled him, through such a long course of years, to speak often, and yet always command attention. His demeanor as a Senator is known to us all — is appreciated, venerated by us all. No man was more respectful to others; no man carried himself with greater decorum, no man with superior dignity. I think there is not one of us but felt, when he last addressed us from his seat in the Senate, his form still erect, with a voice by no means indicating such a degree of physical weakness as did, in fact, possess him, with clear tones, and an impressive, and, I may say, an imposing manner, who did not feel that he might imagine that we saw before us a Senator of Rome, when Rome survived.

Sir, I have not in public nor in private life known a more assiduous person in the discharge of his appropriate duties. I have known no man who wasted less of life in what is called recreation or employed less of it in any pursuits not connected with the immediate discharge of his duty. He seemed to have no recreation but the pleasure of conversation with his friends.

Out of the chambers of Congress, he was either devoting himself to the acquisition of knowledge pertaining to the immediate subject of the duty before him or else he was indulging in those social interviews in which he so much delighted.

My honorable friend from Kentucky has spoken in just terms of his colloquial talents. They certainly were singular and eminent. There was a charm in his conversation not often found. He delighted especially in conversation and intercourse with young men. I suppose that there has been no man among us who had more winning manners, in such an intercourse and conversation with men comparatively young, than Mr. Calhoun. I believe one great power of his character, in general, was his conversational talent. I believe it is that, as well as a consciousness of his high integrity, and the greatest reverence for his intellect and ability, that has made him so endeared an object to the people of the State to which he belonged.

Mr. President, he had the basis, the indispensable basis, of all high character; and that was unspotted integrity — unimpeached honor and character. If he had aspirations, they were high, honorable, and noble. There was nothing grovelling or low or meanly selfish that came near the head or the heart of Mr. Calhoun. Firm in his purpose, perfectly patriotic and honest, as I am sure he was, in the principles that he espoused, and in the measures that he defended, aside from that large regard for that species of distinction that conducted him to eminent stations for the benefit of the republic, I do not believe he had a selfish motive or selfish feeling.

However, sir, he may have differed from others of us in his political opinions or his political principles, those principles and those opinions will now descend to posterity under the sanction of a great name. He has lived long enough, he has done enough, and he has done it so well, so successfully, so honorably, as to connect himself for all time with the records of his country. He is now an historical character. Those of us who have known him here will find that he has left upon our minds and our hearts a strong and lasting impression of his person, his character, and his public performances, which, while we live, will never be obliterated. We shall, hereafter, I am sure, indulge in it as a grateful recollection that we have lived in his age, that we have been his contemporaries, that we have seen him and heard him and known him. We shall delight to speak of him to those who are rising up to fill our places. And, when the time shall come when we ourselves shall go, one after another, in succession to our graves, we shall carry with us a deep sense of his genius and character, his honor and integrity, his amiable deportment in private life, and the purity of his exalted patriotism.

VON HOLST ON CALHOUN.

From his Life of Calhoun.

Life is not only "stranger than fiction," but frequently also more tragical than any tragedy ever conceived by the most fervid imagination. Often in these tragedies of life there is not one drop of blood to make us shudder, nor a single event to compel the tears into the eye. A man endowed with an intellect far above the average, impelled by a high-soaring ambition, untainted by any petty or ignoble passion, and guided by a character of sterling firmness and more than common purity, yet, with fatal illusion, devoting all his mental powers, all his moral energy, and the whole force of his iron will to the service of a doomed and unholy cause, and at last sinking into the grave in the very moment when, under the weight of the top-stone, the towering pillars of the temple of his impure idol are rent to their very base,— can anything more tragical be conceived? . . .

It was his solemn conviction that throughout his life he had faithfully done his duty, both to the Union and to his section, because, as he honestly believed slavery to be "a good, a positive good," he had never been able to see that it was impossible to serve at the same time the Union and his section, if his section was considered as identical with the slavocracy. In perfect good faith he had undertaken what no man could accomplish, because it was a physical and moral impossibility: antagonistic principles cannot be united into a basis on which to rest a huge political fabric. Nullification and the government of law; State supremacy and a constitutional Union, endowed with the power necessary to minister to the wants of a great people; the nationalization of slavery upon the basis of States-rightism in a federal Union, composed principally of free communities, by which slavery was considered a sin and a curse; equality of States and constitutional consolidation of geographical sections, with an artificial preponderance granted to the minority,— these were incompatibilities, and no logical ingenuity could reason them together into the formative principle of a gigantic commonwealth. The speculations of the keenest political logician the United States had ever had ended in the greatest logical monstrosity imaginable, because his reasoning started from a *contradictio in adjecto.* This he failed to see, because the mad delusion had wholly taken possession of his mind that in this age of steam and electricity, of democratic ideas and the rights of man, slavery was "the most solid foundation of liberty." More than to any other man, the South owed it to him that she succeeded for such a long time in forcing the most democratic and the most progressive commonwealth of the universe to bend its knees and do homage to the idol of this "peculiar institution"; but therefore also the largest share of the responsibility for what at last did come rests on his shoulders.

No man can write the last chapter of his own biography, in which the *Facit* of his whole life is summed up, so to say, in one word. If ever a new edition of the works of the greatest and purest of pro-slavery fanatics should be published, it ought to have a short appendix,— the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln.

John C. Calhoun (1782–1850) was the pre-eminent representative of the doctrine of State Rights, as Daniel Webster was the pre-eminent representative of the doctrine of National Sovereignty, in the great controversy which raged in the country uninterruptedly in various forms from the time of the Constitutional Convention until its final settlement by the logic of events in the Civil War. "Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable," was the great watchword of Webster. It was this emblazoned on our ensign which he wished might greet his last earthly vision. "If you should ask me," Calhoun once said, "the word that I would wish engraven on my tombstone, it is *Nullification.*" It was in the debate between Webster and Calhoun in February, 1833, immediately after the passage of the nullification act by South Carolina,—an act declaring the national tariff act of 1832 null and void and forbidding the collection of duties at any port in the State, threatening secession if interfered with,—and in the famous debate between Webster and Senator Hayne, of South Carolina, three years before, while South Carolina was threatening nullification and while Calhoun was Vice-President of the United States and president of the Senate, that the two opposing principles received their most powerful presentation upon the floor of Congress. The student should read (Calhoun's Works, vol. i.) Calhoun's speech on the Revenue Collection (Force) Bill, February 15–16, 1833, and his speech on his Resolutions in support of State Rights, February 26, 1833. The first of these famous resolutions was, "That the people of the several States comprising these United States are united as parties to a constitutional compact, to which the people of each State acceded as a separate and sovereign community, each binding itself by its own particular ratification; and that the union, of which the said compact is the bond, is a union between the States ratifying the same." The student should also read the various addresses prepared by Calhoun for the legislature and people of South Carolina during the nullification period, 1828–32, setting forth their theory of their relation to the general government (Calhoun's Works, vol. vi.).

But perhaps nowhere else did Calhoun expound his views so systematically as in his "Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States," whose introductory sections are reprinted in the present leaflet. This was the second of two important essays in political philosophy written in 1849, but not published until after his death. The first of the two essays was a general "Disquisition on Government"; and of this posthumous work John Stuart Mill spoke as that of one who had "displayed powers as a speculative political thinker superior to any who has appeared in American politics since the authors of 'The Federalist.'" These essays occupy together the whole of the first volume of Calhoun's Works.

It must not be supposed that the theory that the United States is a confederacy was exclusively a Southern theory, and the theory of a nation a Northern one. Both theories have been operative in both sections. See Powell's "Nullification and Secession in the United States." Hayne's great speech upon State Rights should always be read in connection with Webster's famous reply to it, especially for its historical survey of the attitude of New England and the North in 1815 and preceding years. A still more powerful presentation of this — one of the greatest of all American political papers — is the address of John Quincy Adams, first published by Henry Adams in his "Documents relating to New England Federalism." The strong national theory and sentiment upon which our government now rests have been a gradual development; and Webster's great speeches were even more important for the history which they made than for that which they expounded.

The most scholarly and critical life of Calhoun is that in the American Statesmen Series, by Von Holst, whose Constitutional History of the United States is also largely devoted to the study of the long struggle with the State Rights doctrine, of which Calhoun was the great champion. There is an earlier biography by John S. Jenkins, in which several of Calhoun's most significant and representative speeches are incorporated; and this will be of use to those who do not have access to the edition (in 6 vols.) of Calhoun's Works. The long article on Calhoun in the Cyclopædia of American Biography was written by J. Randolph Tucker, and is of unusual value. The lives of Webster and his replies to Calhoun and Hayne should be consulted. The bibliography for the whole period of Calhoun's public life in Channing and Hart's "Guide to American History" is very complete and well arranged. See especially the sections on "Theories of the Constitution," "Tariff and Nullification, 1828-32," and "Public Controversy as to Slavery."

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Lincoln's Cooper Institute Address.

ADDRESS AT COOPER INSTITUTE, NEW YORK, FEB. 27, 1860.

Mr. President and Fellow-citizens of New York: — The facts with which I shall deal this evening are mainly old and familiar; nor is there anything new in the general use I shall make of them. If there shall be any novelty, it will be in the mode of presenting the facts, and the inferences and observations following that presentation. In his speech last autumn at Columbus, Ohio, as reported in the "New-York Times," Senator Douglas said:

> Our fathers, when they framed the government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now.

I fully indorse this, and I adopt it as a text for this discourse. I so adopt it because it furnishes a precise and an agreed starting-point for a discussion between Republicans and that wing of the Democracy headed by Senator Douglas. It simply leaves the inquiry: What was the understanding those fathers had of the question mentioned?

What is the frame of government under which we live? The answer must be, "The Constitution of the United States." That Constitution consists of the original, framed in 1787, and under which the present government first went into operation, and twelve subsequently framed amendments, the first ten of which were framed in 1789.

Who were our fathers that framed the Constitution? I suppose the "thirty-nine" who signed the original instrument may be fairly called our fathers who framed that part of the present government. It is almost exactly true to say they framed it, and it is altogether true to say they fairly represented the opinion and sentiment of the whole nation at that time. Their names, being familiar to nearly all, and accessible to quite all, need not now be repeated.

I take these "thirty-nine," for the present, as being "our fathers who framed the government under which we live." What is the question which, according to the text, those fathers understood "just as well, and even better, than we do now"?

It is this: Does the proper division of local from Federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, forbid our Federal Government to control as to slavery in our Federal Territories?

Upon this, Senator Douglas holds the affirmative, and Republicans the negative. This affirmation and denial form an issue; and this issue — this question — is precisely what the text declares our fathers understood "better than we." Let us now inquire whether the "thirty-nine," or any of them, ever acted upon this question; and if they did, how they acted upon it — how they expressed that better understanding. In 1784, three years before the Constitution, the United States then owning the Northwestern Territory and no other, the Congress of the Confederation had before them the question of prohibiting slavery in that Territory; and four of the "thirty-nine" who afterward framed the Constitution were in that Congress, and voted on that question. Of these, Roger Sherman, Thomas Mifflin and Hugh Williamson voted for the prohibition, thus showing that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor anything else, properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal territory. The other of the four, James McHenry, voted against the prohibition, showing that for some cause he thought it improper to vote for it.

In 1787, still before the Constitution, but while the convention was in session framing it, and while the Northwestern Territory still was the only Territory owned by the United States, the same question of prohibiting slavery in the Territory again came before the Congress of the Confederation; and two more of the "thirty-nine" who afterward signed the Constitution were in that Congress, and voted on the question.

They were William Blount and William Few; and they both voted for the prohibition — thus showing that in their understanding no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor anything else, properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal territory. This time the prohibition became a law, being part of what is now well known as the ordinance of '87.

The question of Federal control of slavery in the Territories seems not to have been directly before the convention which framed the original Constitution; and hence it is not recorded that the "thirty-nine," or any of them, while engaged on that instrument, expressed any opinion on that precise question.

In 1789, by the first Congress which sat under the Constitution, an act was passed to enforce the ordinance of '87, including the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory. The bill for this act was reported by one of the "thirty-nine" — Thomas Fitzsimmons, then a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania. It went through all its stages without a word of opposition, and finally passed both branches without ayes and nays, which is equivalent to a unanimous passage. In this Congress there were sixteen of the thirty-nine fathers who framed the original Constitution. They were John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman, Wm. S. Johnson, Roger Sherman, Robert Morris, Thos. Fitzsimmons, William Few, Abraham Baldwin, Rufus King, William Paterson, George Clymer, Richard Bassett, George Read, Pierce Butler, Daniel Carroll, and James Madison.

This shows that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, properly forbade Congress to prohibit slavery in the Federal territory; else both their fidelity to correct principle, and their oath to support the Constitution, would have constrained them to oppose the prohibition.

Again, George Washington, another of the "thirty-nine," was then President of the United States, and as such approved and signed the bill, thus completing its validity as a law, and thus showing that, in his understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal territory.

No great while after the adoption of the original Constitution, North Carolina ceded to the Federal Government the country now constituting the State of Tennessee; and a few years later Georgia ceded that which now constitutes the States of Mississippi and Alabama. In both deeds of cession it was made a condition by the ceding States that the Federal Government should not prohibit slavery in the ceded country. Besides this, slavery was then actually in the ceded country. Under these circumstances, Congress, on taking charge of these countries, did not absolutely prohibit slavery within them. But they did interfere with it — take control of it — even there, to a certain extent. In 1798 Congress organized the Territory of Mississippi. In the act of organization they prohibited the bringing of slaves into the Territory from any place without the United States, by fine, and giving freedom to slaves so brought. This act passed both branches of Congress without yeas and nays. In that Congress were three of the "thirty-nine" who framed the original Constitution. They were John Langdon, George Read, and Abraham Baldwin. They all probably voted for it. Certainly they would have placed their opposition to it upon record if, in their understanding, any line dividing local from Federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal territory.

In 1803 the Federal Government purchased the Louisiana country. Our former territorial acquisitions came from certain of our own States; but this Louisiana country was acquired from a foreign nation. In 1804 Congress gave a territorial organization to that part of it which now constitutes the State of Louisiana. New Orleans, lying within that part, was an old and comparatively large city. There were other considerable towns and settlements, and slavery was extensively and thoroughly intermingled with the people. Congress did not, in the Territorial Act, prohibit slavery; but they did interfere with it — take control of it — in a more marked and extensive way than they did in the case of Mississippi. The substance of the provision therein made in relation to slaves was:

1st. That no slave should be imported into the Territory from foreign parts.

2d. That no slave should be carried into it who had been imported into the United States since the first day of May, 1798.

3d. That no slave should be carried into it, except by the owner, and for his own use as a settler; the penalty in all the cases being a fine upon the violator of the law, and freedom to the slave.

This act also was passed without ayes or nays. In the Congress which passed it there were two of the "thirty-nine." They were Abraham Baldwin and Jonathan Dayton. As stated in the case of Mississippi, it is probable they both voted for it. They would not have allowed it to pass without recording their opposition to it if, in their understanding, it violated either the line properly dividing local from Federal authority, or any provision of the Constitution.

In 1819–20 came and passed the Missouri question. Many votes were taken, by yeas and nays, in both branches of Congress, upon the various phases of the general question. Two of the "thirty-nine" — Rufus King and Charles Pinckney — were members of that Congress. Mr. King steadily voted for slavery prohibition and against all compromises, while Mr. Pinckney as steadily voted against slavery prohibition and against all compromises. By this, Mr. King showed that, in his understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, was violated by Congress prohibiting slavery in Federal territory; while Mr. Pinckney, by his votes, showed that, in his understanding, there was some sufficient reason for opposing such prohibition in that case.

The cases I have mentioned are the only acts of the "thirty-nine," or of any of them, upon the direct issue, which I have been able to discover.

To enumerate the persons who thus acted as being four in 1784, two in 1787, seventeen in 1789, three in 1798, two in 1804, and two in 1819–20, there would be thirty of them. But this would be counting John Langdon, Roger Sherman, William Few, Rufus King, and George Read each twice, and Abraham Baldwin three times. The true number of those of the "thirty-nine" whom I have shown to have acted upon the question which, by the text, they understood better than we, is twenty-three, leaving sixteen not shown to have acted upon it in any way.

Here, then, we have twenty-three out of our thirty-nine fathers "who framed the government under which we live," who have, upon their official responsibility and their corporal oaths, acted upon the very question which the text affirms they "understood just as well, and even better, than we do now"; and twenty-one of them — a clear majority of the whole "thirty-nine"—so acting upon it as to make them guilty of gross political impropriety and wilful perjury if, in their understanding, any proper division between local and Federal authority, or anything in the Constitution they had made themselves, and sworn to support, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. Thus the twenty-one acted; and, as actions speak louder than words, so actions under such responsibility speak still louder.

Two of the twenty-three voted against congressional prohibition of slavery in the Federal Territories, in the instances in which they acted upon the question. But for what reasons they so voted is not known. They may have done so because they thought a proper division of local from Federal authority, or some provision or principle of the Constitution, stood in the way; or they may, without any such question, have voted against the prohibition on what appeared to them to be sufficient grounds of expediency. No one who has sworn to support the Constitution can conscientiously vote for what he understands to be an unconstitutional measure, however expedient he may think it; but one may and ought to vote against a measure which he deems constitutional if, at the same time, he deems it inexpedient. It, therefore, would be unsafe to set down even the two who voted against the prohibition as having done so because, in their understanding, any proper division of local from Federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal territory.

The remaining sixteen of the "thirty-nine," so far as I have discovered, have left no record of their understanding upon the direct question of Federal control of slavery in the Federal Territories. But there is much reason to believe that their understanding upon that question would not have appeared different from that of their twenty-three compeers, had it been manifested at all.

For the purpose of adhering rigidly to the text, I have purposely omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested by any person, however distinguished, other than the thirty-nine fathers, who framed the original Constitution; and, for the same reason, I have also omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested by any of the "thirty-nine" even on any other phase of the general question of slavery. If we should look into their acts and declarations on those other phases, as the foreign slave-trade, and the morality and policy of slavery generally, it would appear to us that on the direct question of Federal control of slavery in Federal Territories, the sixteen, if they had acted at all, would probably have acted just as the twenty-three did. Among that sixteen were several of the most noted anti-slavery men of those times, — as Dr. Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and Gouverneur Morris,— while there was not one now known to have been otherwise, unless it may be John Rutledge, of South Carolina.

The sum of the whole is that of our thirty-nine fathers who framed the original Constitution, twenty-one — a clear majority of the whole — certainly understood that no proper division of local from Federal authority, nor any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control slavery in the Federal Territories; while all the rest had probably the same understanding. Such, unquestionably, was the understanding of our fathers who framed the original Constitution; and the text affirms that they understood the question "better than we."

But, so far, I have been considering the understanding of the question manifested by the framers of the original Constitution. In and by the original instrument, a mode was provided for amending it; and, as I have already stated, the present frame of "the government under which we live" consists of that original, and twelve amendatory articles framed and adopted since. Those who now insist that Federal control of slavery in Federal Territories violates the Constitution, point us to the provisions which they suppose it thus violates; and, as I understand, they all fix upon provisions in these amendatory articles, and not in the original instrument. The Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case, plant themselves upon the fifth amendment, which provides that no person shall be deprived of "life, liberty, or property without due process of law"; while Senator Douglas and his peculiar adherents plant themselves upon the tenth amendment, providing that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution" "are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Now, it so happens that these amendments were framed by the first Congress which sat under the Constitution — the identical Congress which passed the act, already mentioned, enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory. Not only was it the same Congress, but they were the identical, same individual men who, at the same session, and at the same time within the session, had under consideration, and in progress toward maturity, these constitutional amendments, and this act prohibiting slavery in all the territory the nation then owned. The constitutional amendments were introduced before, and passed after, the act enforcing the ordinance of '87; so that, during the whole pendency of the act to enforce the ordinance, the constitutional amendments were also pending.

The seventy-six members of that Congress, including sixteen of the framers of the original Constitution, as before stated, were pre-eminently our fathers who framed that part of "the government under which we live" which is now claimed as forbidding the Federal Government to control slavery in the Federal Territories.

Is it not a little presumptuous in any one at this day to affirm that the two things which that Congress deliberately framed, and carried to maturity at the same time, are absolutely inconsistent with each other? And does not such affirmation become impudently absurd when coupled with the other affirmation, from the same mouth, that those who did the two things alleged to be inconsistent, understood whether they really were inconsistent better than we — better than he who affirms that they are inconsistent?

It is surely safe to assume that the thirty-nine framers of the original Constitution, and the seventy-six members of the Congress which framed the amendments thereto, taken together, do certainly include those who may be fairly called "our fathers who framed the government under which we live." And so assuming, I defy any man to show that any one of them ever, in his whole life, declared that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. I go a step further. I defy any one to show that any living man in the whole world ever did, prior to the beginning of the present century (and I might almost say prior to the beginning of the last half of the present century), declare that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. To those who now so declare I give not only "our fathers who framed the government under which we live," but with them all other living men within the century in which it was framed, among whom to search, and they shall not be able to find the evidence of a single man agreeing with them.

Now, and here, let me guard a little against being misunderstood. I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so would be to discard all the lights of current experience — to reject all progress, all improvement. What I do say is that, if we would supplant the opinions and policy of our fathers in any case, we should do so upon evidence so conclusive, and argument so clear, that even their great authority, fairly considered and weighed, cannot stand; and most surely not in a case whereof we ourselves declare they understood the question better than we.

If any man at this day sincerely believes that a proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories, he is right to say so, and to enforce his position by all truthful evidence and fair argument which he can. But he has no right to mislead others, who have less access to history, and less leisure to study it, into the false belief that "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" were of the same opinion — thus substituting falsehood and deception for truthful evidence and fair argument. If any man at this day sincerely believes "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" used and applied principles, in other cases, which ought to have led them to understand that a proper division of local from Federal authority, or some part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories, he is right to say so. But he should, at the same time, brave the responsibility of declaring that, in his opinion, he understands their principles better than they did themselves; and especially should he not shirk that responsibility by asserting that they "understood the question just as well, and even better, than we do now."

But enough! Let all who believe that "our fathers who framed the government under which we live understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now," speak as they spoke, and act as they acted upon it. This is all Republicans ask — all Republicans desire — in relation to slavery. As those fathers marked it, so let it be again marked, as an evil not to be extended, but to be tolerated and protected only because of and so far as its actual presence among us makes that toleration and protection a necessity. Let all the guaranties those fathers gave it be not grudgingly, but fully and fairly, maintained. For this Republicans contend, and with this, so far as I know or believe, they will be content.

And now, if they would listen,— as I suppose they will not, — I would address a few words to the Southern people.

I would say to them: You consider yourselves a reasonable and a just people; and I consider that in the general qualities of reason and justice you are not inferior to any other people. Still, when you speak of us Republicans, you do so only to denounce us as reptiles, or, at the best, as no better than outlaws. You will grant a hearing to pirates or murderers, but nothing like it to "Black Republicans." In all your contentions with one another, each of you deems an unconditional condemnation of "Black Republicanism" as the first thing to be attended to. Indeed, such condemnation of us seems to be an indispensable prerequisite — license, so to speak — among you to be admitted or permitted to speak at all. Now can you or not be prevailed upon to pause and to consider whether this is quite just to us, or even to yourselves? Bring forward your charges and specifications, and then be patient long enough to hear us deny or justify.

You say we are sectional. We deny it. That makes an issue; and the burden of proof is upon you. You produce your proof; and what is it? Why, that our party has no existence in your section — gets no votes in your section. The fact is substantially true; but does it prove the issue? If it does, then in case we should, without change of principle, begin to get votes in your section, we should thereby cease to be sectional. You cannot escape this conclusion; and yet are you willing to abide by it? If you are, you will probably soon find that we have ceased to be sectional, for we shall get votes in your section this very year. You will then begin to discover, as the truth plainly is, that your proof does not touch the issue. The fact that we get no votes in your section is a fact of your making, and not of ours. And if there be fault in that fact, that fault is primarily yours, and remains so until you show that we repel you by some wrong principle or practice. If we do repel you by any wrong principle or practice, the fault is ours; but this brings you to where you ought to have started — to a discussion of the right or wrong of our principle. If our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section for the benefit of ours, or for any other object, then our principle, and we with it, are sectional, and are justly opposed and denounced as such. Meet us, then, on the question of whether our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section; and so meet us as if it were possible that something may be said on our side. Do you accept the challenge? No! Then you really believe that the principle which "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" thought so clearly right as to adopt it, and indorse it again and again, upon their official oaths, is in fact so clearly wrong as to demand your condemnation without a moment's consideration.

Some of you delight to flaunt in our faces the warning against sectional parties given by Washington in his Farewell Address. Less than eight years before Washington gave that warning, he had, as President of the United States, approved and signed an act of Congress enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory, which act embodied the policy of the government upon that subject up to and at the very moment he penned that warning; and about one year after he penned it, he wrote Lafayette that he considered that prohibition a wise measure, expressing in the same connection his hope that we should at some time have a confederacy of free States.

Bearing this in mind, and seeing that sectionalism has since arisen upon this same subject, is that warning a weapon in your hands against us, or in our hands against you? Could Washington himself speak, would he cast the blame of that sectionalism upon us, who sustain his policy, or upon you, who repudiate it? We respect that warning of Washington, and we commend it to you, together with his example pointing to the right application of it.

But you say you are conservative — eminently conservative — while we are revolutionary, destructive, or something of the sort. What is conservatism? Is it not adherence to the old and tried, against the new and untried? We stick to, contend for, the identical old policy on the point in controversy which was adopted by "our fathers who framed the government under which we live"; while you with one accord reject, and scout, and spit upon that old policy, and insist upon substituting something new. True, you disagree among yourselves as to what that substitute shall be. You are divided on new propositions and plans, but you are unanimous in rejecting and denouncing the old policy of the fathers. Some of you are for reviving the foreign slave-trade; some for a congressional slave code for the Territories; some for Congress forbidding the Territories to prohibit slavery within their limits; some for maintaining slavery in the Territories through the judiciary; some for the "gur-reat pur-rinciple" that "if one man would enslave another, no third man should object," fantastically called "popular sovereignty"; but never a man among you is in favor of Federal prohibition of slavery in Federal Territories, according to the practice of "our fathers who framed the government under which we live." Not one of all your various plans can show a precedent or an advocate in the century within which our government originated. Consider, then, whether your claim of conservatism for yourselves, and your charge of destructiveness against us, are based on the most clear and stable foundations.

Again, you say we have made the slavery question more prominent than it formerly was. We deny it. We admit that it is more prominent, but we deny that we made it so. It was not we, but you, who discarded the old policy of the fathers. We resisted, and still resist, your innovation; and thence comes the greater prominence of the question. Would you have that question reduced to its former proportions? Go back to that old policy. What has been will be again, under the same conditions. If you would have the peace of the old times, readopt the precepts and policy of the old times.

You charge that we stir up insurrections among your slaves. We deny it: and what is your proof? Harper's Ferry! John Brown! John Brown was no Republican; and you have failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise. If any member of our party is guilty in that matter, you know it, or you do not know it. If you do know it, you are inexcusable for not designating the man and proving the fact. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable for asserting it, and especially for persisting in the assertion after you have tried and failed to make the proof. You need not be told that persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true, is simply malicious slander.

Some of you admit that no Republican designedly aided or encouraged the Harper's Ferry affair, but still insist that our doctrines and declarations necessarily lead to such results. We do not believe it. We know we hold no doctrine, and make no declaration, which were not held to and made by "our fathers who framed the government under which we live." You never dealt fairly by us in relation to this affair. When it occurred, some important State elections were near at hand, and you were in evident glee with the belief that, by charging the blame upon us, you could get an advantage of us in those elections. The elections came, and your expectations were not quite fulfilled. Every Republican man knew that, as to himself at least, your charge was a slander, and he was not much inclined by it to cast his vote in your favor. Republican doctrines and declarations are accompanied with a continual protest against any interference whatever with your slaves, or with you about your slaves. Surely this does not encourage them to revolt. True, we do, in common with "our fathers who framed the government under which we live," declare our belief that slavery is wrong; but the slaves do not hear us declare even this. For anything we say or do, the slaves would scarcely know there is a Republican party. I believe they would not, in fact, generally know it but for your misrepresentations of us in their hearing. In your political contests among yourselves, each faction charges the other with sympathy with Black Republicanism; and then, to give point to the charge, defines Black Republicanism to simply be insurrection, blood, and thunder among the slaves.

Slave insurrections are no more common now than they were before the Republican party was organized. What induced the Southampton insurrection, twenty-eight years ago, in which at least three times as many lives were lost as at Harper's Ferry? You can scarcely stretch your very elastic fancy to the conclusion that Southampton was "got up by Black Republicanism." In the present state of things in the United States, I do not think a general, or even a very extensive, slave insurrection is possible. The indispensable concert of action cannot be attained. The slaves have no means of rapid communication; nor can incendiary freemen, black or white, supply it. The explosive materials are everywhere in parcels; but there neither are, nor can be supplied, the indispensable connecting trains.

Much is said by Southern people about the affection of slaves for their masters and mistresses: and a part of it, at least, is true. A plot for an uprising could scarcely be devised and communicated to twenty individuals before some one of them, to save the life of a favorite master or mistress, would divulge it. This is the rule; and the slave revolution in Hayti was not an exception to it, but a case occurring under peculiar circumstances. The gunpowder plot of British history, though not connected with slaves, was more in point. In that case only about twenty were admitted to the secret; and yet one of them, in his anxiety to save a friend, betrayed the plot to that friend, and, by consequence, averted the calamity. Occasional poisonings from the kitchen and open or stealthy assassinations in the field, and local revolts extending to a score or so, will continue to occur as the natural results of slavery; but no general insurrection of slaves, as I think, can happen in this country for a long time. Whoever much fears, or much hopes, for such an event, will be alike disappointed.

In the language of Mr. Jefferson, uttered many years ago, "It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation peaceably, and in such slow degrees, as that the evil will wear off insensibly; and their places be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up."

Mr. Jefferson did not mean to say, nor do I, that the power of emancipation is in the Federal Government. He spoke of Virginia; and, as to the power of emancipation, I speak of the slaveholding States only. The Federal Government, however, as we insist, has the power of restraining the extension of the institution — the power to insure that a slave insurrection shall never occur on any American soil which is now free from slavery.

John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact it was so absurd that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry were, in their philosophy, precisely the same. The eagerness to cast blame on old England in the one case and on New England in the other, does not disprove the sameness of the two things.

And how much would it avail you, if you could, by the use of John Brown, Helper's Book, and the like, break up the Republican organization? Human action can be modified to some extent, but human nature cannot be changed. There is a judgment and a feeling against slavery in this nation which cast at least a million and a half of votes. You cannot destroy that judgment and feeling — that sentiment — by breaking up the political organization which rallies around it. You can scarcely scatter and disperse an army which has been formed into order in the face of your heaviest fire; but if you could, how much would you gain by forcing the sentiment which created it out of the peaceful channel of the ballot-box into some other channel? What would that other channel probably be? Would the number of John Browns be lessened or enlarged by the operation?

But you will break up the Union rather than submit to a denial of your constitutional rights.

That has a somewhat reckless sound; but it would be palliated, if not fully justified, were we proposing, by the mere force of numbers, to deprive you of some right plainly written down in the Constitution. But we are proposing no such thing.

When you make these declarations, you have a specific and well-understood allusion to an assumed constitutional right of yours to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as property. But no such right is specifically written in the Constitution. That instrument is literally silent about any such right. We, on the contrary, deny that such a right has any existence in the Constitution, even by implication.

Your purpose, then, plainly stated, is that you will destroy the government, unless you be allowed to construe and force the Constitution as you please, on all points in dispute between you and us. You will rule or ruin in all events.

This, plainly stated, is your language. Perhaps you will say the Supreme Court has decided the disputed constitutional question in your favor. Not quite so. But waiving the lawyer's distinction between dictum and decision, the court has decided the question for you in a sort of way. The court has substantially said, it is your constitutional right to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as property. When I say the decision was made in a sort of way, I mean it was made in a divided court, by a bare majority of the judges, and they not quite agreeing with one another in the reasons for making it; that it is so made as that its avowed supporters disagree with one another about its meaning, and that it was mainly based upon a mistaken statement of fact — the statement in the opinion that "the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution."

An inspection of the Constitution will show that the right of property in a slave is not "distinctly and expressly affirmed" in it. Bear in mind, the judges do not pledge their judicial opinion that such right is impliedly affirmed in the Constitution; but they pledge their veracity that it is "distinctly and expressly" affirmed there — "distinctly," that is, not mingled with anything else — "expressly," that is, in words meaning just that, without the aid of any inference, and susceptible of no other meaning.

If they had only pledged their judicial opinion that such right is affirmed in the instrument by implication, it would be open to others to show that neither the word "slave" nor "slavery" is to be found in the Constitution, nor the word "property" even, in any connection with language alluding to the things slave, or slavery; and that wherever in that instrument the slave is alluded to, he is called a "person"; and wherever his master's legal right in relation to him is alluded to, it is spoken of as "service or labor which may be due" — as a debt payable in service or labor. Also it would be open to show, by contemporaneous history, that this mode of alluding to slaves and slavery, instead of speaking of them, was employed on purpose to exclude from the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man.

To show all this is easy and certain.

When this obvious mistake of the judges shall be brought to their notice, is it not reasonable to expect that they will withdraw the mistaken statement, and reconsider the conclusion based upon it?

And then it is to be remembered that "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" — the men who made the Constitution — decided this same constitutional question in our favor long ago: decided it without division among themselves when making the decision; without division among themselves about the meaning of it after it was made, and, so far as any evidence is left, without basing it upon any mistaken statement of facts.

Under all these circumstances, do you really feel yourselves justified to break up this government unless such a court decision as yours is shall be at once submitted to as a conclusive and final rule of political action? But you will not abide the election of a Republican president! In that supposed event, you say, you will destroy the Union; and then, you say, the great crime of having destroyed it will be upon us! That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, and mutters through his teeth, "Stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and then you will be a murderer!"

To be sure, what the robber demanded of me — my money — was my own; and I had a clear right to keep it; but it was no more my own than my vote is my own; and the threat of death to me, to extort my money, and the threat of destruction to the Union, to extort my vote, can scarcely be distinguished in principle.

A few words now to Republicans. It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great Confederacy shall be at peace and in harmony one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Even though much provoked, let us do nothing through passion and ill temper. Even though the Southern people will not so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if, in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can. Judging by all they say and do, and by the subject and nature of their controversy with us, let us determine, if we can, what will satisfy them.

Will they be satisfied if the Territories be unconditionally surrendered to them? We know they will not. In all their present complaints against us, the Territories are scarcely mentioned. Invasions and insurrections are the rage now. Will it satisfy them if, in the future, we have nothing to do with invasions and insurrections? We know it will not. We so know, because we know we never had anything to do with invasions and insurrections; and yet this total abstaining does not exempt us from the charge and the denunciation.

The question recurs, What will satisfy them? Simply this: we must not only let them alone, but we must somehow convince them that we do let them alone. This, we know by experience, is no easy task. We have been so trying to convince them from the very beginning of our organization, but with no success. In all our platforms and speeches we have constantly protested our purpose to let them alone; but this has had no tendency to convince them. Alike unavailing to convince them is the fact that they have never detected a man of us in any attempt to disturb them.

These natural and apparently adequate means all failing, what will convince them? This, and this only: cease to call slavery wrong, and join them in calling it right. And this must be done thoroughly — done in acts as well as in words. Silence will not be tolerated — we must place ourselves avowedly with them. Senator Douglas's new sedition law must be enacted and enforced, suppressing all declarations that slavery is wrong, whether made in politics, in presses, in pulpits, or in private. We must arrest and return their fugitive slaves with greedy pleasure. We must pull down our free-State constitutions. The whole atmosphere must be disinfected from all taint of opposition to slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us.

I am quite aware they do not state their case precisely in this way. Most of them would probably say to us, "Let us alone; do nothing to us, and say what you please about slavery." But we do let them alone,— have never disturbed them,— so that, after all, it is what we say which dissatisfies them. They will continue to accuse us of doing, until we cease saying.

I am also aware they have not as yet in terms demanded the overthrow of our free-State constitutions. Yet those constitutions declare the wrong of slavery with more solemn emphasis than do all other sayings against it; and when all these other sayings shall have been silenced, the overthrow of these constitutions will be demanded, and nothing be left to resist the demand. It is nothing to the contrary that they do not demand the whole of this just now. Demanding what they do, and for the reason they do, they can voluntarily stop nowhere short of this consummation. Holding, as they do, that slavery is morally right and socially elevating, they cannot cease to demand a full national recognition of it as a legal right and a social blessing.

Nor can we justifiably withhold this on any ground save our conviction that slavery is wrong. If slavery is right, all words, acts, laws, and constitutions against it are themselves wrong, and should be silenced and swept away. If it is right, we cannot justly object to its nationality — its universality; if it is wrong, they cannot justly insist upon its extension — its enlargement. All they ask we could readily grant, if we thought slavery right; all we ask they could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right and our thinking it wrong is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they are not to blame for desiring its full recognition as being right; but thinking it wrong, as we do, can we yield to them? Can we cast our votes with their view, and against our own? In view of our moral, social, and political responsibilities, can we do this?

Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the national Territories, and to overrun us here in these free States? If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored — contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong: vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man; such as a policy of "don't care" on a question about which all true men do care; such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous, to repentance; such as invocations to Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said and undo what Washington did.

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.

Lincoln's address at the Cooper Institute, New York, on the evening of February 27, 1860, was, perhaps, the most important single speech which he made before his presidency and the most systematic and powerful statement which he ever made of the case against slavery and its defenders. The occasion itself was noteworthy. Lincoln's debate with Douglas in 1858 had given him a national reputation, and the anti-slavery men of the East were curious and anxious to see and hear him. Nicolay and Hay, in their Life of Lincoln, devote an entire chapter (vol. ii., chap. xii.) to this great speech and the circumstances of its delivery. "Since the days of Clay and Webster," said the *Tribune* the next morning, "no man has spoken to a larger assemblage of the intellect and mental culture of our city." William Cullen Bryant presided, and the leading Republicans of New York sat upon the platform. "The representative men of New York," wrote the biographers, "were naturally eager to see and hear one who, by whatever force of eloquence or argument, had attracted so large a share of the public attention. We may also fairly infer that, on his part, Lincoln was no less curious to test the effect of his words on an audience more learned and critical than those collected in the open-air meetings of his Western campaigns. This mutual interest was an evident advantage to both: it secured a close attention from the house and insured deliberation and emphasis by the speaker, enabling him to develop his argument with perfect precision and unity, reaching, perhaps, the happiest general effect ever attained in any one of his long addresses. . . . If any part of the audience came with the expectation of hearing the rhetorical fireworks of a Western stump-speaker of the 'half-horse, half-alligator' variety, they met novelty of an unlooked-for kind. In Lincoln's entire address he neither introduced an anecdote nor essayed a witticism; and the first half of it does not contain even an illustrative figure or a poetical fancy. It was the quiet, searching exposition of the historian and the terse, compact reasoning of the statesman about an abstract principle of legislation, in language well-nigh as restrained and colorless as he would have employed in arguing a case before a court. Yet such was the apt choice of words, the easy precision of sentences, the simple strength of propositions, the fairness of every point he assumed, and the force of every conclusion he drew, that his listeners followed him with the interest and delight a child feels in its easy mastery of a plain sum in arithmetic."

The next morning the four leading New York newspapers printed the address in full. "Mr. Lincoln is one of nature's orators," said the *Tribune*, "using his rare powers solely to elucidate and convince, though their inevitable effect is to delight and electrify as well. We present herewith a very full and accurate report of this speech; yet the tones, the gestures, the kindling eye, and the mirth-provoking look defy the reporter's skill. The vast assemblage frequently rang with cheers and shouts of applause, which were prolonged and intensified at the close. No man ever before made such an impression on his first appeal to a New York audience." A pamphlet reprint was at once announced by the *Tribune*, and later a more careful edition was prepared and circulated.

From New York Lincoln went to speak at several places in New England, everywhere making a deep impression; and this Eastern visit did much to bring him into prominence as a candidate for the presidency. See Herndon's Life of Lincoln for an account of the great care which he gave to the preparation of the Cooper Institute speech, and its important influence on his own fortunes.

Lincoln's Complete Works, comprising his speeches, letters, state papers, and miscellaneous writings, edited by Nicolay and Hay, are published in two volumes. There have already been published in the series of Old South Leaflets Lincoln's Inaugurals (No. 11) and the First Lincoln and Douglas Debate (No. 85).

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No. 108.

The Invention of the Steamboat.

An Historical Account of the Application of Steam for the Propelling of Boats: a letter from Chancellor Livingston to the editors of the "American Medical and Philosophical Register," published in that journal in January, 1812 (vol. ii. p. 256).

It is much to be wished that a regular account of the introduction of useful arts had been transmitted by the historical writers of every age and country, not merely that justice might be done to the genius and enterprise of the inventors, and the nation by whom they were fostered, but that the statesman and philosopher might mark the influence of each upon the wealth, morals, and characters of mankind. Every one sees and acknowledges the changes that have been wrought by the improvements in agriculture and navigation, but seldom reflects on the extent to which apparently small discoveries have influenced not only the prosperity of the nation to which the invention owes its birth, but those with which it is remotely connected. When Arkwright invented his cotton-mills, the man would have been laughed at that ventured to predict that not only Great Britain would be many millions gainer annually by it, but that in consequence of it the waste lands of the Carolinas and Georgia would attain an incalculable value, and their planters vie in wealth with the nabobs of the East. A new art has sprung up among us, which promises to be attended with such important consequences that I doubt not, sirs, you will with pleasure make your useful work record its introduction; that when in future years it becomes common, the names of the inventors may not be lost to posterity, and that its effects upon the wealth and manners of society may be more accurately marked. I refer (as you have doubtless conjectured) to the invention of steamboats, which owe their introduction solely to the genius and enterprise of our fellow-citizens; the utility of which is already so far acknowledged that, although only four years have elapsed since the first boat was built by Mr. Livingston and Mr. Fulton, ten vessels are now in operation on their construction, and several more contracted for.

When Messrs. Watt and Bolton had given a great degree of perfection to the steam-engine, it was conceived that this great and manageable power might be usefully applied to the purposes of navigation; the first attempt, however, to effect this, as far as I have yet learned, was made in America in the year 1783. Mr. John Fitch (having first obtained from most of the States in the Union a law vesting in him for a long term the exclusive use of steamboats) built one upon the Delaware. He made use of Watt and Bolton's engine, and his propelling power was paddles. This vessel navigated the river from Philadelphia to Bordentown for a few weeks, but was found so imperfect, and liable to so many accidents, that it was laid aside, after the projector had expended a large sum of money for himself and his associates.

Rumsey, another American, who was deservedly ranked among our most ingenious mechanics, followed Fitch; but, not being able to find men at home who were willing, after Fitch's failure, to embark in so hazardous an enterprise, he went to England, where, aided by the capital of Mr. Daniel Parker and other moneyed men, he built a boat upon the Thames, which, after many and very expensive trials, was found defective, and never went into operation. Rumsey's propelling power was water pumped by the engine into the vessel and expelled from the stern.

The next attempt was made by Chancellor Livingston, to whom, as to Fitch, the State of New York gave an exclusive right for twenty years, upon condition that he built and kept in operation a boat of twenty tons burthen, that should go at the rate of four miles an hour. He expended a considerable sum of money in the experiment, and built a boat of about thirty tons burthen, which went three miles an hour. As this did not fulfil the conditions of his contract with the State, he relinquished the project for the moment, resolving, whenever his public avocations would give him leisure, to pursue it. His action upon the water was by a horizontal wheel placed in a well in the bottom of the boat, which communicated with the water at its centre; and when whirled rapidly round propelled the water by the centrifugal force through an aperture in the stern. In this way he hoped to escape the encumbrance of external wheels or paddles, and the irregularities that the action of the waves might occasion. Not being able with the small engine he used, which was an eighteen-inch cylinder, with a three-feet stroke, to obtain, as I have said, a greater velocity than three miles an hour, and fearing that the loss of power in this way was greater than could be compensated by the advantage he proposed from his plan, he relinquished it; but, as I am informed, still thinks that when boats are designed for very rough water it may be eligible to adopt it in preference to external wheels.

Not long after, John Stevens, Esq., of Hoboken, engaged in the same pursuit, tried elliptical paddles, smoke-jack wheels, and a variety of other ingenious contrivances,—sometimes of his own invention, and again in conjunction with Mr. Kinsley, late one of our most distinguished mechanicians. None of these having been attended with the desired effect, Mr. Stevens has, since the introduction of Messrs. Livingston and Fulton's boat, adopted their principles, and built two boats that are propelled by wheels, to which he has added a boiler of his invention, that promises to be a useful improvement on engines designed for boats. Whilst these unsuccessful attempts were making in America, the mechanics of Europe were not wholly inattentive to the object. Lord Stanhope, who deservedly ranks very high among them, expended a considerable sum of money in building a steamboat, which, like all that preceded it, totally failed. His operating power upon the water was something in the form of a duck's foot. A gentleman in France (whose name I have forgotten), when Mr. Livingston and Mr. Fulton were building their experimental boat on the Seine, complained in the French papers that the Americans had forestalled his invention; that he had invented a boat that would go seven miles an hour, and explained his principles. Mr. Fulton replied to him, and showed him that attempts had been previously made in America, and assuring him that his plan was quite different. Mr. —— would not answer. He had expended a great deal of money and failed; he made use of a horizontal cylinder and chain-paddles.

After the experiments made by Mr. Livingston and Mr. Fulton at Paris, a boat was built in Scotland that moved in some measure like a small boat that was exhibited for some time at New York by Mr. Fitch. The cylinder was laid horizontally, and her action upon the water was similar to his; but, as her speed upon the water was a little better than two miles an hour, I presume she has gone into disuse.

You will not, sir, find this record of the errors of projectors uninteresting, since they serve the double purpose of deterring others from wasting time and money upon them, and of setting in its true light the enterprise of those who, regardless of so many failures, had the boldness to undertake and the happiness to succeed in the enterprise.

Robert R. Livingston, Esq., when minister in France, met with Mr. Fulton, and they formed that friendship and connection with each other to which a similarity of pursuits generally gives birth. He communicated to Mr. Fulton the importance of steamboats to their common country, informed him of what had been attempted in America and of his resolution to resume the pursuit on his return, and advised him to turn his attention to the subject. It was agreed between them to embark in the enterprise, and immediately to make such experiments as would enable them to determine how far, in spite of former failures, the object was attainable. The principal direction of these experiments was left to Mr. Fulton, who united, in a very considerable degree, practical to a theoretical knowledge of mechanics. After trying a variety of experiments on a small scale, on models of his own invention, it was understood that he had developed the true principles upon which steamboats should be built, and for the want of knowing which all previous experiments had failed. But, as these gentlemen both knew that many things which were apparently perfect when tried on a small scale failed when reduced to practice upon a large one, they determined to go to the expense of building an operating boat upon the Seine. This was done in the year 1803, at their joint expense, under the direction of Mr. Fulton, and so fully evinced the justice of his principles that it was immediately determined to enrich their country by the valuable discovery as soon as they should meet there, and in the mean time to order an engine to be made in England. On the arrival at New York of Mr. Fulton, which was not until 1806, they immediately engaged in building a boat of what was then considered very considerable dimensions. This boat began to navigate the Hudson River in September, 1807; its progress through the water was at the rate of five miles an hour. In the course of the ensuing winter it was enlarged to a boat of one hundred and forty feet keel, and sixteen and a half feet beam. The legislature of the State were so fully convinced of the great utility of the invention, and the interest the State had in its encouragement, that they made a new contract with Mr. Livingston and Mr. Fulton, by which they extended the term of their exclusive right five years for every additional boat they should build, provided that the whole term should not exceed thirty years, in consequence of which they have added two boats to the North River boat (besides those that have been built by others under their license), the Car of Neptune, which is a beautiful vessel of about three hundred tons burthen, and the Paragon, of three hundred and fifty tons, a drawing of which is sent you herewith, together with a description of her interior arrangements.

It will appear, sir, from the above history of steamboats, that the first development of the principles and combinations upon which their success was founded was discovered by Mr. Fulton in the year 1803, and grew out of a variety of experiments made by him and Mr. Livingston for that purpose, at Paris, about that period; and that the first steamboat that was ever in this or any other country put into useful operation (if we except the imperfect trial of Fitch) was built upon those principles by Mr. Livingston and Mr. Fulton, at New York, in 1807. From these periods the invention of the art may be dated. I will not trouble you with an explanation of these principles; they are now so clearly developed in his patents, and rendered so obvious by being publicly reduced to practice, that any experienced mechanic may, by a recourse to them, build a steamboat. What has hitherto been a stumbling-block to the ablest mechanicians of the old and new world is now become so obvious and familiar to all that they look back with astonishment upon their own failures, and lament the time they have been deprived of this useful invention. Had it not been for a fortunate occurrence of circumstances, it is highly probable that another century would have elapsed before it had been introduced. Past failures operated as a discouragement to new trials; the great expense that attended experiments upon the only scale on which it could succeed would have deterred any but men of property from engaging in the enterprise; and how few of these are there in any country that choose to risk much in projects, and upon such especially as have repeatedly proved unfortunate? Add to this that without special encouragement from the government, and a perfect security of their rights, in case of the success of so expensive and hazardous an enterprise, it could not have been expected that any individuals would have embarked their time, their fame, and their fortunes in it. In the present instance, happily for our country, mechanical talents and property united with the enthusiasm of projectors in the enterprise, and the enlightened policy of this State afforded it a liberal patronage. Under these circumstances a new art has happily, and honorably for this country, been brought into existence. Speed, convenience, and ease have been introduced into our system of travelling, which the world has never before experienced, and the projectors, stimulated by the public patronage and the pride of success, have spared no expense that can contribute to the ease and safety of travellers. Their boats are furnished with every accommodation that can be found in the best hotels. Every new boat is an improvement upon the one that preceded, until they have obtained a degree of perfection which leaves us nothing to wish but that the public, duly impressed with the advantage they have received from their labors, may cheerfully bestow on them the honor and profit to which the boldness of their enterprise and the liberal manner in which it has been executed so justly entitle them.

A FRIEND TO SCIENCE.

ROBERT FULTON TO AARON OGDEN (1814) ON THE INVENTION OF THE STEAMBOAT.

Sir,— Studiously occupied on a new invention which presents a prospect of great national utility, and relying on the dignified integrity of a legislature distinguished for the patronage and patriotism it gives to useful improvements, I have not attended at Albany to guard from your address and industry the rights granted to Livingston and Fulton, and which I hope every upright and liberal mind will acknowledge they have faithfully and honorably earned.

But by letters received from Albany I am informed that in your address to the committee, among other things attempting to prove that I am not the inventor of steamboats, you exhibited Charnock's work on naval architecture to show that I have quoted him in my patent; and thereby you endeavored to make an impression that I had patented the experiments on the resistance of bodies moving through water *as my own.* If, sir, you have done so before the honorable committee, and they and the audience know it, then you have done it knowing it to be *false;* for you made a like attempt before a committee at Trenton in February last, at which time I presented to you and the committee the drawing from my patent and quotations from said work, at the bottom of which I gave the author credit for the information I received in the following words: "This table of the resistance of bodies moved through water is taken from experiments made in England by a society for the encouragement of naval architecture between the years 1793 and 1798." This fact you knew at Trenton, and there acknowledged that I had not attempted to patent the experiments of others, but only used them as a means for demonstrating principles. Hence, if at Albany you have impressed the committee with a belief that I could be so base as to pirate the labors of others, and present them to my liberal countrymen as my own, you have done an unjust and ungenerous deed, which would make the cheek of rigid honor blush. I say, if you have done so,— for I place it on the conjunction *if*,— you have departed from that noble candor, that respect for truth, which marks the moral man and man of honor; and you have attempted to destroy my character for honesty by depicting me as guilty of perjury, for in obtaining my patent I swore that I believed myself the original discoverer and inventor of the thing patented. To a man who loves his country, and whose greatest pleasure is to merit the esteem of his countrymen, this is too serious a charge to remain without refutation.

That a patent may be taken according to law, it must be so explained that a person skilled in an art which most resembles it could, from the specification, drawings, or models, make the machine. Therefore I drew from those tables such conclusions as, in my opinion, would show to other persons how the calculations should be made to ascertain as near as possible the resistance of any given boat while running from one to six or more miles an hour, and from her resistance also show what should be the power of the steam-engine to drive her the required velocity, then show what should be the size of the wheel-boards, which take the purchase on the water, and their speed compared to the speed of the boat, all of which were necessary to be ascertained, selected, and combined before any one could originate a useful steamboat; and it was for want of such selection and just combination of first principles, founded on the laws of nature, that every attempt at constructing useful steamboats *previous to mine failed.* But, now that they are discovered and carried into practice on the great scale, you and Mr. Dodd can copy them, and have copied them exact. This is proved by the affidavits of many experienced and respectable engineers, and will be acknowledged by every one who has the least information on mechanical combinations; yet neither you nor Mr. Dodd, possessed as you are of Charnock's book, now know the principles which originated and govern the construction of steamboats, nor can you find them in that book or any other.

But, as you have looked much into books, models, and abortive experiments to prove steamboats an old invention, can you show any publication, model, or work that distinctly points out what the power of the engine must be to drive the boat the required velocity? or any work that distinctly shows the best mode for taking the purchase on the water, whether by oars, paddles, shulls, endless chains, ducks' feet, valves, or wheels? or what should be the size of the paddle-boards and their velocity? No, sir, *you cannot.* These indispensable first principles are nowhere to be found except in my patent. They are the discovery, the invention, which caused success. Previous to my experiments all was doubt and conjecture. No one could tell the requisite power of the engine, no one had determined the best mode for taking the purchase on the water or the powers and velocities of the component parts. If they had, why did you not avail yourself of them, and construct a useful steamboat ten years ago? If those proportions and powers, which are now demonstrated by actual practice in my boats on the great scale, and where every intelligent blacksmith and carpenter can go and measure them, copy them, and make a successful steamboat, were formerly known, how is it that Mr. Stevens, Chancellor Livingston, Mr. Rumsey, Mr. Fitch, Lord Stanhope, and Oliver Evans could not find them in twenty years' labor and at the expense of $100,000? Why were not steamboats made ten years ago? for Charnock's book has been published fifteen years. And here let me present to you a curious fact: the experiments in that book were in great part conducted by Lord Stanhope, who himself since failed in his experiments on steamboats; and, if you have not yet so far affected my character for truth that my countrymen will cease to believe me, I will state another fact: he (Lord Stanhope) in October, 1806, told me in London that I could not construct a successful steamboat on the principles and combinations I proposed and which I now practise with complete success. Consequently, that book does not show how to construct a steamboat any more than the multiplication table shows how to calculate an eclipse; yet the multiplication table is useful to those who know how to apply it to that purpose. But, now that I have succeeded, contrary to all public belief, though, as you say, without the merit of invention, you collect a basket of scraps, conjectures, and abortive essays, out of which, by a kind of magical sophistry, you attempt to place before a discerning committee a successful steamboat of some twenty years old. Suppose you were to collect a basket of old ballads and bad verse without ideas, but rhyming and containing the twenty-four letters of the alphabet, could you not from those parts used by Pope prove that he did not conceive or invent the Dunciad or Essay on Man and Criticism? Or, could you or Mr. Dodd have got his manuscript and put the strokes on his t's, might you not insist that you had made an important improvement, then print and sell the poems as your own? for such is exactly the kind of improvements you and Mr. Dodd have made on steamboats. But there is not so much to be made by such improvements on poetry as by moving parallel links from one part of a steam-engine to another: hence avarice suffers poets, particularly bad ones, to be tranquil, nor does it interfere with unsuccessful mechanicians. It is only the successful artists — they who really benefit their country — that are fit subjects for plunder. Cupidity never encroached on Fitch or Rumsey or on Lord Stanhope. They were not so fortunate as to succeed and exhibit profits. It even left tranquillity to me in 1807 and 1808. In those years the permanent success was not fully established nor the profits visible, but in 1809 they were. Then envy and avarice combined to destroy the inventor. Yet with these facts, known to every candid man in this State, you say steamboats are an old invention; and you have purchased from Fitch's heirs all their right to his invention. But his heirs, however, had no right; for his patent had expired five years before you purchased, and his invention, if good for anything, is public property. But, now that you have purchased Fitch's invention, as you say, for a valuable consideration, but, as it is believed at Trenton, for a mere nominal sum, that you might possess a phantom to frighten me or to perform in your exhibitions to the public, why have you not built your boat like his, with paddles behind and chain communications? It must be that you had not so much confidence in his invention as in mine; and for the good reason that he failed, but I had succeeded. And now, sir, permit me to make a remark on your logic. You say Fitch is an inventor, that his invention merits protection; yet you do not use any one part of it. There is no part of his invention in your boat Sea Horse. Mr. Daniel D. Dodd is also an inventor, as you say, of one link in your great chain of argument; and yet Fulton, who investigated and combined just principles, constructed and gave to the world steamboats at the time the world had not one steamboat and the project was deemed visionary,— this Fulton, according to your logic, is an impostor and no inventor. Why, sir, there is something so flimsy and totally ignorant of mechanical combination and inventor's rights in all these, your assertions, that it is an insult on common sense to state them to any man who has the least penetration.

Having said so much, I have sent to Albany a copy of that part of my patent which contains extracts from Charnock's tables. It is attested by the clerk of the court to be a true copy. I have also sent a true copy of Fitch's patent, to show how much unlike it is to my boats and the one you have copied from me; and I have sent the certificates of two experienced English engineers, who are now engaged in Talman & Ward's manufactory in the Bowery, who state that the links claimed by Mr. Dodd as his invention and an important improvement have been to all Bolton & Watt's engines for fourteen years. When I put these links in my patent, I did not patent them exclusively for all kinds of machinery; nor did I patent the steam-engine or Charnock's tables. I made use of all these parts to express my ideas of a whole combination new in mechanics, producing a new and desired effect, giving them their powers and proportions indispensable to their present success in constructing steamboats; and these principles — those powers and parts which I combined for steamboats, and which never before had been brought together in any steamboat — I patented for that purpose and no other, as every artist who invents a new and useful machine must compose it of known parts of other machines. So in patent medicines,— Lee's bilious pills: he did not invent their elements, but combined certain ingredients in certain proportions to make a useful medicine, in which the just proportions are absolutely necessary and part of the invention, as in mechanics the discovery of the proportion of the parts which produce the desired effect make part of the invention.

As you have been heard before the committee and a crowded house in pleading your own cause in your own way, carefully using only such arguments as you hoped would destroy me, I have thus sought the indulgence of a generous public to hear my statement of facts, none of which you can disprove. And now, sir, I leave your merits and mine to the honest and noble feelings of the penetrating gentlemen of this truly great and honorable State. They cannot be mistaken in your view. It is to seize on the property of mind — the fruit of ten years of my ardent studies and labor — and apply it to your own use, thereby destroying forever all confidence in contracts with this State and placing the property of inventors in a position so insecure as to destroy every mental exertion.

FULTON'S LETTERS ON THE FIRST VOYAGE OF THE CLERMONT.

To the Editor of the American Citizen: —

Sir,— I arrived this afternoon at four o'clock in the steamboat from Albany. As the success of my experiment gives me great hopes that such boats may be rendered of great importance to my country, to prevent erroneous opinions and give some satisfaction to my friends of useful improvements, you will have the goodness to publish the following statement of facts: —

I left New York on Monday at one o'clock, and arrived at Clermont, the seat of Chancellor Livingston, at one o'clock on Tuesday: time, twenty-four hours: distance, one hundred and ten miles. On Wednesday I departed from the Chancellor's at nine in the morning, and arrived at Albany at five in the afternoon: distance, forty miles; time, eight hours. The sum is one hundred and fifty miles in thirty-two hours, equal to near five miles an hour.

On Thursday, at nine o'clock in the morning, I left Albany, and arrived at the Chancellor's at six in the evening. I started from thence at seven, and arrived at New York at four in the afternoon: time, thirty hours; space run through, one hundred and fifty miles, equal to five miles an hour. Throughout my whole way, both going and returning, the wind was ahead. No advantage could be derived from my sails. The whole has therefore been performed by the power of the steam-engine.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

ROBERT FULTON.

To Joel Barlow:—

My steamboat voyage to Albany and back has turned out rather more favorably than I had calculated. The distance from New York to Albany is one hundred and fifty miles. I ran it up in thirty-two hours, and down in thirty. I had a light breeze against me the whole way, both going and coming; and the voyage has been performed wholly by the power of the steam-engine. I overtook many sloops and schooners beating to windward, and parted with them as if they had been at anchor.

The power of propelling boats by steam is now fully proved. The morning I left New York, there were not perhaps thirty persons in the city who believed that the boat would ever move one mile an hour or be of the least utility; and, while we were putting off from the wharf, which was crowded with spectators, I heard a number of sarcastic remarks. This is the way in which ignorant men compliment what they call philosophers and projectors.

Having employed much time, money, and zeal in accomplishing this work, it gives me, as it will you, great pleasure to see it answer my expectations. It will give a cheap and quick conveyance to the merchandise on the Mississippi, Missouri, and other great rivers, which are now laying open their treasures to the enterprise of our countrymen; and, although the prospect of personal emolument has been some inducement to me, yet I feel infinitely more pleasure in reflecting on the immense advantage my country will derive from the invention, etc.

THE FIRST VOYAGE OF THE CLERMONT.

Reminiscences of H. Freeland, in a letter to J. F. Reigart, 1856.

It was in the early autumn of the year 1807 that a knot of villagers was gathered on a high bluff just opposite Poughkeepsie, on the west bank of the Hudson, attracted by the appearance of a strange, dark looking craft, which was slowly making its way up the river. Some imagined it to be a sea monster, while others did not hesitate to express their belief that it was a sign of the approaching judgment. What seemed strange in the vessel was the substitution of lofty and straight black smoke-pipes rising from the deck, instead of the gracefully tapered masts that commonly stood on the vessels navigating the stream, and, in place of the spars and rigging, the curious play of the working-beam and pistons and the slow turning and splashing of the huge and naked paddle-wheels met the astonished gaze. The dense clouds of smoke, as they rose wave upon wave, added still more to the wonderment of the rustics.

This strange looking craft was the Clermont on her trial trip to Albany, and of the little knot of villagers mentioned above, the writer, then a boy in his eighth year, with his parents, formed a part; and I well remember the scene, one so well fitted to impress a lasting picture upon the mind of a child accustomed to watch the vessels that passed up and down the river.

The forms of four persons were distinctly visible on the deck as she passed the bluff,—one of whom, doubtless, was Robert Fulton, who had on board with him all the cherished hopes of years, the most precious cargo the wonderful boat could carry.

On her return trip the curiosity she excited was scarcely less intense; the whole country talked of nothing but the sea monster belching forth fire and smoke. The fishermen became terrified and rowed homewards, and they saw nothing but destruction devastating their fishing grounds, while the wreaths of black vapor and the rushing noise of the paddle-wheels, foaming with the stirred up waters, produced great excitement among the boatmen, until it was more intelligent than before; for the character of that curious boat, and the nature of the enterprise which she was pioneering, had been ascertained. From that time, Robert Fulton, Esq., became known and respected as the author and builder of the *first steam packet*, from which we plainly see the rapid improvement in commerce and civilization. Who can doubt that Fulton's first packet boat has been the model steamer? Except in finer finish and greater size, there is no difference between it and the splendid steamships now crossing the Atlantic. Who can doubt that Fulton saw the meeting of all nations upon his boats, gathering together in unity and harmony, that the “freedom of the seas would be the happiness of the earth”? Who can doubt that Fulton saw the world circumnavigated by steam, and that his invention was carrying the messages of freedom to every land, that no man could tell all its benefits, or describe all its wonders? What a wonderful achievement! What a splendid triumph!

The truth undoubtedly is that Fulton was not “the inventor of the steamboat,” and that the reputation acquired by his successful introduction of steam navigation is largely accidental, and is principally due to the possession, in company with Livingston, of a monopoly which drove from this most promising field those original and skilful engineers, Evans and the Stevenses. No one of the essential devices successfully used by Fulton in the Clermont, his first North River steamboat, was new; and no one of them differed, to any great extent, from devices successfully adopted by earlier experimenters. Fulton's success was a commercial success purely. John Stevens had, in 1804, built a successful *screw* steam-vessel; and his paddle-steamer of 1807, the Phœnix, was very possibly a better piece of engineering than the Clermont. John Fitch had, still earlier, used both screw and paddle. In England, Miller and Symington and Lord Dundas had antedated even Fulton's earliest experiments on the Seine. Indeed, it seems not at all unlikely that Papin, a century earlier (in 1707), had he been given a monopoly of steam navigation on the Weser or the Fulda, and had he been joyfully hailed by the Hanoverians as a public benefactor, as was Fulton in the United States, instead of being proscribed and assaulted by the mob who destroyed his earlier Clermont, might have been equally successful; or it may be that the French inventor, Jouffroy, who experimented on the rivers of France twenty-five years before Fulton, might, with similar encouragement, have gained an equal success.

Yet, although Fulton was not in any true sense “the inventor of the steamboat,” his services in the work of introducing that miracle of our modern time cannot be overestimated; and, aside from his claim as the first to grasp success among the many who were then bravely struggling to place steam navigation on a permanent and safe basis, he is undeniably entitled to all the praise that has ever been accorded him on such different ground.

It is to Robert Fulton that we owe the fact that to-day the rivers of our own country, and those of the world as well, are traversed by steamers of all sizes and all kinds, and by boats suited to every kind of traffic: that the ocean floats, in every clime and in all its harbors, fleets of great steamers, transporting passengers and merchandise from the United States to Europe, from Liverpool to Hong-Kong, from London to Melbourne, traversing the "doldrums" as steadily and safely and as rapidly as the regions of the trades or either temperate zone. Steam navigation without Fulton would undoubtedly have become an established fact; but no one can say how long the world, without that great engineer and statesman, would have been compelled to wait, or how much the progress of the world might have been retarded by his failure, had it occurred. The name of Fulton well deserves to be coupled with those of Newcomen and Watt, the inventors of the steam-engine; with those of George and Robert Stephenson, the builders of the railway; and with those of Morse and Bell, who have given us the telegraph and the telephone.— *Robert H. Thurston.*

* * *

"Robert Fulton has often, if not generally, been assumed to have been the inventor of the steamboat, as Watt is generally supposed to be the inventor of the steam-engine, which constitutes its motive apparatus. But this notion is quite incorrect. The invention of the steam-engine and that of the steamboat alike are the results of the inventive genius not of any one man nor of any dozen men. Fulton simply took the products of the genius of other mechanics, and set them at work in combination, and then applied the already known steamboat, in his more satisfactorily proportioned form, to a variety of useful purposes, and with final success. It is this which constitutes Fulton's claim upon the gratitude and the remembrance of the nations; and it is quite enough."

The early chapters of Admiral George H. Preble's "History of Steam Navigation" give a very complete account of the various efforts to construct and work steamboats before the time of Fulton. The account by Robert R. Livingston, in the January, 1812, number of the *American Medical and Philosophical Register* of New York, reprinted in the present leaflet, is of great historical value, as Livingston's own efforts in this direction, both in association with Fulton and earlier, were of such signal importance. It should be noted that in the April, 1812, number of the *Register*, Colonel John Stevens of Hoboken, the most active of Fulton's rivals, published a rejoinder to Livingston, criticising his letter for "numerous incorrect and defective statements" concerning himself, and showing that he had formed plans for the application of steam power to navigation as early as 1789, and was at work on construction as early, at least, as 1791. "Stevens," says Thurston, "was the greatest professional engineer and naval architect living at the beginning of the present century. He exhibited a better knowledge of engineering than any man of his time, and entertained and urged more advanced opinions and more statesmanlike views in relation to the economical importance of the improvement of the steam-engine, both on land and water, than seem to have been attributable to any other leading engineer of that time, not excepting Robert Fulton."

Livingston pays proper tribute to John Fitch for the first attempt in

America to apply steam to navigation in 1783. The career of this man of marvellous inventive genius was a pathetic one. Only the lack of "property," to which Livingston rightly ascribes so large a part of the success of the Clermont experiment, prevented John Fitch from achieving the triumph and the fame now associated with the name of Fulton. "The day will come," he wrote in his autobiography, "when some more powerful man will get fame and riches from my invention; but nobody will believe that poor John Fitch can do anything worthy of attention." He constructed steamboats with paddles, and also successfully applied the screw-propeller. "This," he wrote to David Rittenhouse in 1792, speaking of the steam-engine, "whether I bring it to perfection or not, will be the mode of crossing the Atlantic, in time, for packets and armed vessels." There is a Life of Fitch by Thompson Westcott, containing many selections from his autobiography. The Life in Sparks's "American Biography" is by Whittlesey, who also wrote an impressive paper, "Justice to the Memory of John Fitch," for the *Western Literary Journal and Monthly Review* for February, 1845, reprinted in pamphlet form. There is much interesting matter concerning Fitch, largely communicated by Daniel Langstreth, the younger, in Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia." See also Fitch's own pamphlet, "The Original Steamboat Supported," a reply (1788) to the claims of J. Rumsey.

The earliest important Life of Fulton is that by his friend Cadwallader D. Colden, published in 1817. The Life by Reigart (1856), for the most part a plagiarism from Colden, is a fulsome work, which derives its value from some original letters included (one from H. Freeland, reprinted in the present leaflet, describing the appearance of the Clermont in her first trip up the Hudson) and the reproduction of many of Fulton's sketches and pictures, including his colored illustrations to Barlow's "Columbiad." The Life in Sparks's series is by James Renwick. There is an admirable brief biography by Robert H. Thurston, in the "Makers of America" series; and a capital book for the young people is the "Life of Robert Fulton, and History of Steam Navigation," by Thomas W. Knox. Preble's "History of Steam Navigation" contains original accounts of the first voyage of the Clermont not found in the other books. The date of this historical voyage was Monday, August 17, 1807; for an account of the curious confusions as to the date, see the Editor's Table of the *New England Magazine*, September, 1900. Fulton became involved in litigation concerning his patents and various rights; and it was in connection with this that he wrote the letter addressed to Aaron Ogden, printed in the present leaflet, which is the most interesting statement of his claim as inventor of the steamboat.

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The Ground of the Free School System.

BY HORACE MANN.

FROM HIS TENTH ANNUAL REPORT AS SECRETARY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION, 1846.

The Pilgrim Fathers amid all their privations and dangers conceived the magnificent idea, not only of a universal, but of a free education for the whole people. To find the time and the means to reduce this grand conception to practice, they stinted themselves, amid all their poverty, to a still scantier pittance; amid all their toils, they imposed upon themselves still more burdensome labors; and, amid all their perils, they braved still greater dangers. Two divine ideas filled their great hearts,— their duty to God and to posterity. For the one they built the church, for the other they opened the school. Religion and knowledge,— two attributes of the same glorious and eternal truth, and that truth the only one on which immortal or mortal happiness can be securely founded!

It is impossible for us adequately to conceive the boldness of the measure which aimed at universal education through the establishment of free schools. As a fact, it had no precedent in the world's history; and, as a theory, it could have been refuted and silenced by a more formidable array of argument and experience than was ever marshalled against any other institution of human origin. But time has ratified its soundness. Two centuries of successful operation now proclaim it to be as wise as it was courageous, and as beneficent as it was disinterested. Every community in the civilized world awards it the meed of praise; and states at home and nations abroad, in the order of their intelligence, are copying the bright example. What we call the enlightened nations of Christendom are approaching, by slow degrees, to the moral elevation which our ancestors reached at a single bound. . . .

The alleged ground upon which the founders of our free-school system proceeded when adopting it did not embrace the whole argument by which it may be defended and sustained. Their insight was better than their reason. They assumed a ground, indeed, satisfactory and convincing to Protestants; but at that time only a small portion of Christendom was Protestant, and even now only a minority of it is so. The very ground on which our free schools were founded, therefore, if it were the only one, would have been a reason with more than half of Christendom for their immediate abolition.

In later times, and since the achievement of American independence, the universal and ever-repeated argument in favor of free schools has been that the general intelligence which they are capable of diffusing, and which can be imparted by no other human instrumentality, is indispensable to the continuance of a republican government. This argument, it is obvious, assumes, as a *postulatum*, the superiority of a republican over all other forms of government; and, as a people, we religiously believe in the soundness both of the assumption and of the argument founded upon it. But, if this be all, then a sincere monarchist, or a defender of arbitrary power, or a believer in the divine right of kings, would oppose free schools for the identical reasons we offer in their behalf. . . .

Again, the expediency of free schools is sometimes advocated on grounds of political economy. An educated people is always a more industrious and productive people. Intelligence is a primary ingredient in the wealth of nations. . . . The moralist, too, takes up the argument of the economist. He demonstrates that vice and crime are not only prodigals and spendthrifts of their own, but defrauders and plunderers of the means of others, that they would seize upon all the gains of honest industry and exhaust the bounties of Heaven itself without satiating their rapacity; and that often in the history of the world whole generations might have been trained to industry and virtue by the wealth which one enemy to his race has destroyed.

And yet, notwithstanding these views have been presented a thousand times with irrefutable logic, and with a divine eloquence of truth which it would seem that nothing but combined stolidity and depravity could resist, there is not at the present time, [1846] with the exception of the States of New England and a few small communities elsewhere, a country or a state in Christendom which maintains a system of free schools for the education of its children. . . .

I believe that this amazing dereliction from duty, especially in our own country, originates more in the false notions which men entertain *respecting the nature of their right to property* than in any thing else. In the district school meeting, in the town meeting, in legislative halls, everywhere, the advocates for a more generous education could carry their respective audiences with them in behalf of increased privileges for our children, were it not instinctively foreseen that increased privileges must be followed by increased taxation. Against this obstacle, argument falls dead. The rich man who has no children declares that the exaction of a contribution from him to educate the children of his neighbor is an invasion of his rights of property. The man who has reared and educated a family of children denounces it as a double tax when he is called upon to assist in educating the children of others also; or, if he has reared his own children without educating them, he thinks it peculiarly oppressive to be obliged to do for others what he refrained from doing even for himself. Another, having children, but disdaining to educate them with the common mass, withdraws them from the public school, puts them under what he calls "selecter influences," and then thinks it a grievance to be obliged to support a school which he contemns. Or, if these different parties so far yield to the force of traditionary sentiment and usage, and to the public opinion around them, as to consent to do something for the cause, they soon reach the limit of expense at which their admitted obligation or their alleged charity terminates.

It seems not irrelevant, therefore, in this connection, and for the purpose of strengthening the foundation on which our free-school system reposes, to inquire into the nature of a man's right to the property he possesses, and to satisfy ourselves respecting the question whether any man has such an indefeasible title to his estates or such an absolute ownership of them as renders it unjust in the government to assess upon him his share of the expenses of educating the children of the community up to such a point as the nature of the institutions under which he lives, and the well-being of society, require.

I believe in the existence of a great, immortal, immutable principle of natural law, or natural ethics,—a principle antecedent to all human institutions, and incapable of being abrogated by any ordinance of man,—a principle of divine origin, clearly legible in the ways of Providence as those ways are manifested in the order of nature and in the history of the race, which proves the *absolute right* to an education of every human being that comes into the world, and which, of course, proves the correlative duty of every government to see that the means of that education are provided for all.

In regard to the application of this principle of natural law,—that is, in regard to the extent of the education to be provided for all at the public expense,—some differences of opinion may fairly exist under different political organizations; but, under our republican government, it seems clear that the minimum of this education can never be less than such as is sufficient to qualify each citizen for the civil and social duties he will be called to discharge,—such an education as teaches the individual the great laws of bodily health, as qualifies for the fulfilment of parental duties, as is indispensable for the civil functions of a witness or a juror, as is necessary for the voter in municipal and in national affairs, and, finally, as is requisite for the faithful and conscientious discharge of all those duties which devolve upon the inheritor of a portion of the sovereignty of this great republic. . . . So far is it from being a wrong or a hardship to demand of the possessors of property their respective shares for the prosecution of this divinely ordained work, that they themselves are guilty of the most far-reaching injustice when they seek to resist or to evade the contribution. The complainers are the wrong-doers. The cry, "Stop thief!" comes from the thief himself.

To any one who looks beyond the mere surface of things, it is obvious that the primary and natural elements or ingredients of all property consist in the riches of the soil, in the treasures of the sea, in the light and warmth of the sun, in the fertilizing clouds and streams and dews, in the winds, and in the chemical and vegetative agencies of Nature. In the majority of cases, all that we call *property*, all that makes up the valuation or inventory of a nation's capital, was prepared at the creation, and was laid up of old in the capacious storehouses of Nature. For every unit that a man earns by his own toil or skill, he receives hundreds and thousands, without cost and without recompense, from the all-bountiful Giver. A proud mortal, standing in the midst of his luxuriant wheat-fields or cotton-plantations, may arrogantly call them his own; yet what barren wastes would they be, did not Heaven send down upon them its dews and its rains, its warmth and its light, and sustain, for their growth and ripening, the grateful vicissitude of the seasons! It is said that from eighty to ninety per cent. of the very substance of some of the great staples of agriculture are not taken from the earth, but are absorbed from the air; so that these productions may more properly be called fruits of the atmosphere than of the soil. Who prepares this elemental wealth? Who scatters it, like a sower, through all the regions of the atmosphere, and sends the richly freighted winds, as His messengers, to bear to each leaf in the forest, and to each blade in the cultivated field, the nourishment which their infinitely varied needs demand? Aided by machinery, a single manufacturer performs the labor of hundreds of men. Yet what could he accomplish without the weight of the waters which God causes ceaselessly to flow, or without those gigantic forces which he has given to steam? And how would the commerce of the world be carried on, were it not for those great laws of Nature — of electricity, of condensation, and of rarefaction — that give birth to the winds, which, in conformity to the will of Heaven and not in obedience to any power of man, forever traverse the earth, and offer themselves as an unchartered medium for interchanging the products of all the zones? These few references show how vast a proportion of all the wealth which men presumptuously call their own, because they claim to have earned it, is poured into their lap, unasked and unthanked for, by the Being so infinitely gracious in his physical as well as in his moral bestowments.

But for whose subsistence and benefit were these exhaustless treasuries of wealth created? Surely not for any one man, nor for any one generation, but for the subsistence and benefit of the whole race from the beginning to the end of time. They were not created for Adam alone, nor for Noah alone, nor for the first discoverers or colonists who may have found or have peopled any part of the earth's ample domain. No. They were created for the race collectively, but to be possessed and enjoyed in succession as the generations, one after another, should come into existence,— equal rights, with a successive enjoyment of them. If we consider the earth and the fulness thereof as one great habitation or domain, then each generation, subject to certain modifications for the encouragement of industry and frugality,— which modifications it is not necessary here to specify,— has only a life-lease in them. There are certain reasonable regulations, indeed, in regard to the outgoing and the incoming tenants,— regulations which allow to the outgoing generations a brief control over their property after they are called upon to leave it, and which also allow the incoming generations to anticipate a little their full right of possession. But, subject to these regulations, nature ordains a perpetual entail and transfer from one generation to another of all property in the great, substantive, enduring elements of wealth,— in the soil, in metals and minerals, in precious stones, and in more precious coal and iron and granite, in the waters and winds and sun; and no one man, nor any one generation of men, has any such title to or ownership in these ingredients and substantials of all wealth that his right is evaded when a portion of them is taken for the benefit of posterity.

This great principle of natural law may be illustrated by a reference to some of the unstable elements, in regard to which each individual's right of *property* is strongly qualified in relation to his contemporaries, even while he has the acknowledged right of *possession*. Take the streams of water or the wind, for an example. A stream, as it descends from its sources to its mouth, is successively the property of all those through whose land it passes. My neighbor who lives above me owned it yesterday, while it was passing through his lands: I own it to-day, while it is descending through mine; and the contiguous proprietor below will own it to-morrow, while it is flowing through his, as it passes onward to the next. But the rights of these successive owners are not absolute and unqualified. They are limited by the rights of those who are entitled to the subsequent possession and use. While a stream is passing through my lands, I may not corrupt it, so that it shall be offensive or valueless to the adjoining proprietor below. I may not stop it in its downward course, nor divert it into any other direction, so that it shall leave this channel dry. I may lawfully use it for various purposes — for agriculture, as in irrigating lands or watering cattle; for manufactures, as in turning wheels, etc.; — but, in all my uses of it, I must pay regard to the rights of my neighbors lower down. So no two proprietors, nor any half-dozen proprietors, by conspiring together, can deprive an owner, who lives below them all, of the ultimate right which he has to the use of the stream in its descending course. We see here, therefore, that a man has certain qualified rights — rights of which he cannot lawfully be divested without his own consent — in a stream of water before it reaches the limits of his own estate, at which latter point he may somewhat more emphatically call it his own. And, in this sense, a man who lives at the outlet of a river, on the margin of the ocean, has certain incipient rights in those fountain-sources that well up from the earth at the distance of thousands of miles. . . .

In one respect, the winds illustrate our relative rights and duties even better than the streams. In the latter case the rights are not only successive, but always in the same order of priority, those of the owner above necessarily preceding those of the owner below. . . . In the case of the winds, however, which blow from every quarter of the heavens, I may have the prior right to-day; but, with a change in their direction, my neighbor may have it to-morrow. If, therefore, to-day, when the wind is going from me to him, I should usurp the right to use it to his detriment, to-morrow, when it is coming from him to me, he may inflict retributive usurpation upon me.

The light of the sun, too, is subject to the same benign and equitable regulations. As the waves of this ethereal element pass by me, I have a right to bask in their genial warmth or to employ their quickening powers; but I have no right, even on my own land, to build up a wall mountain-high that shall eclipse the sun to my neighbor's eyes.

Now all these great principles of natural law which define and limit the rights of neighbors and contemporaries are incorporated into and constitute a part of the civil law of every civilized people; and they are obvious and simple illustrations of the great proprietary laws by which individuals and generations hold their rights in the solid substance of the globe, in the elements that move over its surface, and in the chemical and vital powers with which it is so marvellously endued. As successive owners on a river's bank have equal rights to the waters that flow through their respective domains, subject only to the modification that the proprietors nearer the stream's source must have precedence in the enjoyment of their rights over those lower down, so the rights of all the generations of mankind to the earth itself, to the streams that fertilize it, to the winds that purify it, to the vital principles that animate it, and to the reviving light, are common rights, though subject to similar modifications in regard to the preceding and succeeding generations of men. . . .

Is not the inference irresistible, then, that no man, by whatever means he may have come into possession of his property, has any natural right, any more than he has a moral one, to hold it, or to dispose of it, irrespective of the needs and claims of those who, in the august processions of the generations, are to be his successors on the stage of existence? Holding his rights subject to their rights, he is bound not to impair the value of their inheritance either by commission or by omission.

Generation after generation proceeds from the creative energy of God. Each one stops for a brief period upon the earth, resting, as it were, only for a night, like migratory birds upon their passage, and then leaving it forever to others whose existence is as transitory as its own; and the migratory flocks of water-fowl which sweep across our latitudes in their passage to another clime have as good a right to make a perpetual appropriation to their own use of the lands over which they fly as any one generation has to arrogate perpetual dominion and sovereignty, for its own purposes, over that portion of the earth which it is its fortune to occupy during the brief period of its temporal existence.

Another consideration bearing upon this arrogant doctrine of absolute ownership or sovereignty has hardly less force than the one just expounded. We have seen how insignificant a portion of any man's possessions he can claim in any proper and just sense *to have earned*, and that, in regard to all the residue, he is only taking his turn in the use of a bounty bestowed in common, by the Giver of all, upon his ancestors, upon himself, and upon his posterity,—a line of indefinite length, in which he is but a point. But this is not the only deduction to be made from his assumed rights. The *present* wealth of the world has an additional element in it. Much of all that is capable of being earned by man has been earned by our predecessors, and has come down to us in a solid and enduring form. We have not erected all the houses in which we live, nor constructed all the roads on which we travel, nor built all the ships in which we carry on our commerce with the world. We have not reclaimed from the wilderness all the fields whose harvests we now reap; and, if we had no precious metals or stones or pearls but such as we ourselves had dug from the mines or brought up from the bottom of the ocean, our coffers and our caskets would be empty indeed. But, even if this were not so, whence came all the arts and sciences, the discoveries and the inventions, without which, and without a common right to which, the valuation of the property of a whole nation would scarcely equal the inventory of a single man,— without which, indeed, we should now be in a state of barbarism? Whence came a knowledge of agriculture, without which we should have so little to reap? or a knowledge of astronomy, without which we could not traverse the oceans? or a knowledge of chemistry and mechanical philosophy, without which the arts and trades could not exist? Most of all this was found out by those who have gone before us; and some of it has come down to us from a remote antiquity. Surely, all these boons and blessings belong as much to posterity as to ourselves. They have not descended to us to be arrested and consumed here or to be sequestrated from the ages to come. Cato and Archimedes, and Kepler and Newton, and Franklin and Arkwright and Fulton, and all the bright host of benefactors to science and art, did not make or bequeath their discoveries or inventions to benefit any one generation, but to increase the common enjoyments of mankind to the end of time. So of all the great lawgivers and moralists who have improved the civil institutions of the state, who have made it dangerous to be wicked, or, far better than this, have made it hateful to be so. Resources developed and property acquired after all these ages of preparation, after all these facilities and securities, accrue, not to the benefit of the possessor only, but to that of the next and of all succeeding generations.

Surely, these considerations limit still more extensively that absoluteness of ownership which is so often claimed by the possessors of wealth.

But sometimes the rich farmer, the opulent manufacturer, or the capitalist, when sorely pressed with his natural and moral obligation to contribute a portion of his means for the education of the young, replies,— either in form or in spirit,— "My lands, my machinery, my gold, and my silver are mine: may I not do what I will with my own?" There is one supposable case, and only one, where this argument would have plausibility. If it were made by an isolated, solitary being,— a being having no relations to a community around him, having no ancestors to whom he had been indebted for ninety-nine parts in every hundred of all he possesses, and expecting to leave no posterity after him,— it might not be easy to answer it. If there were but one family in this Western hemisphere and only one in the Eastern hemisphere, and these two families bore no civil and social relations to each other, and were to be the first and last of the whole race, it might be difficult, except on very high and almost transcendental grounds, for either one of them to show good cause why the other should contribute to help educate children not his own. And perhaps the force of the appeal for such an object would be still further diminished if the nearest neighbor of a single family upon our planet were as far from the earth as Uranus or Sirius. In self-defence or in selfishness one might say to the other: "What are your fortunes to me? You can neither benefit nor molest me. Let each of us keep to his own side of the planetary spaces." But is this the relation which any man amongst us sustains to his fellows? In the midst of a populous community to which he is bound by innumerable ties, having had his own fortune and condition almost predetermined and foreordained by his predecessors, and being about to exert upon his successors as commanding an influence as has been exerted upon himself, the objector can no longer shrink into his individuality, and disclaim connection and relationship with the world at large. He cannot deny that there are thousands around him on whom he acts, and who are continually reacting upon him. The earth is much too small or the race is far too numerous to allow us to be hermits, and therefore we cannot adopt either the philosophy or the morals of hermits. All have derived benefits from their ancestors; and all are bound, as by an oath, to transmit those benefits, even in an improved condition, to posterity. We may as well attempt to escape from our own personal identity as to shake off the threefold relation which we bear to others,— the relation of an associate with our contemporaries, of a beneficiary of our ancestors, of a guardian to those who, in the sublime order of Providence, are to succeed us. Out of these relations, manifest duties are evolved. The society of which we necessarily constitute a part must be preserved; and, in order to preserve it, we must not look merely to what one individual or one family needs, but to what the whole community needs, not merely to what one generation needs, but to the wants of a succession of generations. To draw conclusions without considering these facts is to leave out the most important part of the premises.

II

A powerfully corroborating fact remains untouched. Though the earth and the beneficent capabilities with which it is endued belong in common to the race, yet we find that previous and present possessors have laid their hands upon the whole of it, — have left no part of it unclaimed and unappropriated. They have circumnavigated the globe; they have drawn lines across every habitable portion of it, and have partitioned amongst themselves not only its whole area or superficial contents, but have claimed it down to the centre and up to the concave,— a great inverted pyramid for each proprietor,— so that not an unclaimed rood is left, either in the caverns below or in the aërial spaces above, where a new adventurer upon existence can take unresisted possession. They have entered into a solemn compact with each other for the mutual defence of their respective allotments. They have created legislators and judges and executive officers, who denounce and inflict penalties even to the taking of life; and they have organized armed bands to repel aggression upon their claims. Indeed, so grasping and rapacious have mankind been in this particular, that they have taken more than they could use, more than they could perambulate and survey, more than they could see from the top of the masthead or from the highest peak of the mountain. There was some limit to their physical power of taking possession, but none to the exorbitancy of their desires. Like robbers, who divide their spoils before they know whether they shall find a victim, men have claimed a continent while still doubtful of its existence, and spread out their title from ocean to ocean before their most adventurous pioneers had ever seen a shore of the realms they coveted. The whole planet, then, having been appropriated,— there being no waste or open lands from which the new generations may be supplied as they come into existence,— have not those generations the strongest conceivable claim upon the present occupants for that which is indispensable to their well-being? They have more than a pre-emptive, they have a possessory right to some portion of the issues and profits of that general domain, all of which has been thus taken up and appropriated. A denial of this right by the present possessors is a breach of trust, a fraudulent misuse of power given and of confidence implied. On mere principles of political economy, it is folly; on the broader principles of duty and morality, it is embezzlement.

It is not at all in contravention of this view of the subject that the adult portion of society does take, and must take, upon itself the control and management of all existing property until the rising generation has arrived at the age of majority. Nay, one of the objects of their so doing is to preserve the rights of the generation which is still in its minority. Society, to this extent, is only a trustee managing an estate for the benefit of a part owner or of one who has a reversionary interest in it. This civil regulation, therefore, made necessary even for the benefit of both present and future possessors, is only in furtherance of the great law under consideration.

Coincident, too, with this great law, but in no manner superseding or invalidating it, is that wonderful provision which the Creator has made for the care of offspring in the affection of their parents. Heaven did not rely merely upon our perceptions of duty toward our children and our fidelity in its performance. A powerful, all-mastering instinct of love was therefore implanted in the parental and especially in the maternal breast, to anticipate the idea of duty and to make duty delightful. Yet the great doctrine founded upon the will of God as made known to us in the natural order and relation of things would still remain the same, though all this beautiful portion of our moral being, whence parental affection springs, were a void and a nonentity. Emphatically would the obligations of society remain the same for all those children who have been bereaved of parents, or who, worse than bereavement, have only monster parents of intemperance or cupidity, or of any other of those forms of vice that seem to suspend or to obliterate the law of love in the parental breast. For these society is doubly bound to be a parent, and to exercise all that rational care and providence which a wise father would exercise for his own children.

If the previous argument began with sound premises, and has been logically conducted, then it has established this position,— that a vast portion of the present wealth of the world either consists in, or has been immediately derived from, those great natural substances and powers of the earth which were bestowed by the Creator alike on all mankind; or from the discoveries, inventions, labors, and improvements of our ancestors, which were alike designed for the common benefit of all their descendants. The question now arises, *At what time* is this wealth to be transferred from a preceding to a succeeding generation? At what point are the latter to take possession of it or to derive benefit from it? or at what time are the former to surrender it in their behalf? Is each existing generation, and each individual of an existing generation, to hold fast to his possessions until death relaxes his grasp? or is something of the right to be acknowledged, and something of the benefit to be yielded, beforehand? It seems too obvious for argument that the latter is the only alternative. If the incoming generation have no rights until the outgoing generation have actually retired, then is every individual that enters the world liable to perish on the day he is born. According to the very constitution of things, each individual must obtain sustenance and succor as soon as his eyes open in quest of light or his lungs gasp for the first breath of air. His wants cannot be delayed until he himself can supply them. If the demands of his nature are ever to be answered, they must be answered years before he can make any personal provision for them, either by the performance of any labor or by any exploits of skill. The infant must be fed before he can earn his bread, he must be clothed before he can prepare garments, he must be protected from the elements before he can erect a dwelling; and it is just as clear that he must be instructed before he can engage or reward a tutor. A course contrary to this would be the destruction of the young, that we might rob them of their rightful inheritance. Carried to its extreme, it would be the act of Herod, seeking in a general massacre the life of one who was supposed to endanger his power. Here, then, the claims of the succeeding generation, not only upon the affection and the care, but upon the *property*, of the preceding one, attach. God having given to the second generation as full and complete a right to the incomes and profits of the world as he has given to the first, and to the third generation as full and complete a right as he has given to the second, and so on while the world stands, it necessarily follows that children must come into a partial and qualified possession of these rights by the paramount law of nature, as soon as they are born. No human enactment can abolish or countervail this paramount and supreme law; and all those positive and often arbitrary enactments of the civil code, by which, for the encouragement of industry and frugality, the possessor of property is permitted to control it for a limited period after his decease, must be construed and executed in subservience to this sovereign and irrepealable ordinance of nature.

Nor is this transfer always, or even generally, to be made in *kind*, but according to the needs of the recipient. The recognition of this principle is universal. A guardian or trustee may possess lands while the ward or owner under the trust may need money, or the former may have money while the latter need raiment or shelter. The form of the estate must be changed, if need be, and adapted to the wants of the receiver.

The claim of a child, then, to a portion of pre-existent property, begins with the first breath he draws. The new-born infant must have sustenance and shelter and care. If the natural parents are removed or parental ability fails, in a word, if parents either cannot or will not supply the infant's wants,— then society at large — the government having assumed to itself the ultimate control of all property — is bound to step in and fill the parent's place. To deny this to any child would be equivalent to a sentence of death, a capital execution of the innocent,— at which every soul shudders. It would be a more cruel form of infanticide than any which is practised in China or in Africa.

But to preserve the animal life of a child only, and there to stop, would be, not the bestowment of a blessing or the performance of a duty, but the infliction of a fearful curse. A child has interests far higher than those of mere physical existence. Better that the wants of the natural life should be disregarded than that the higher interests of the character should be neglected. If a child has any claim to bread to keep him from perishing, he has a far higher claim to knowledge to preserve him from error and its fearful retinue of calamities. If a child has any claim to shelter to protect him from the destroying elements, he has a far higher claim to be rescued from the infamy and perdition of vice and crime.

All moralists agree, nay, all moralists maintain, that a man is as responsible for his omissions as for his commissions; that he is as guilty of the wrong which he could have prevented, but did not, as for that which his own hand has perpetrated. They, then, who knowingly withhold sustenance from a new-born child, and he dies, are guilty of infanticide. And, by the same reasoning, they who refuse to enlighten the intellect of the rising generation are guilty of degrading the human race. They who refuse to train up children in the way they should go are training up incendiaries and madmen to destroy property and life, and to invade and pollute the sanctuaries of society. In a word, if the mind is as real and substantive a part of human existence as the body, then mental attributes, during the periods of infancy and childhood, demand provision at least as imperatively as bodily appetites. The time when these respective obligations attach corresponds with the periods when the nurture, whether physical or mental, is needed. As the right of sustenance is of equal date with birth, so the right of intellectual and moral training begins at least as early as when children are ordinarily sent to school. At that time, then, by the irrepealable law of Nature, every child succeeds to so much more of the property of the community as is necessary for his education. He is to receive this, not in the form of lands, or of gold and silver, but in the form of knowledge and a training to good habits. This is one of the steps in the transfer of property from a present to a succeeding generation. Human sagacity may be at fault in fixing the amount of property to be transferred or the time when the transfer should be made to a dollar or to an hour; but certainly, in a republican government, the obligation of the predecessors, and the right of the successors, extend to and embrace the means of such an amount of education as will prepare each individual to perform all the duties which devolve upon him as a man and a citizen. It may go farther than this point: certainly, it cannot fall short of it.

Under our political organization the places and the processes where this transfer is to be provided for, and its amount determined, are the district-school meeting, the town-meeting, legislative halls, and conventions for establishing or revising the fundamental laws of the State. If it be not done there, society is false to its high trusts; and any community, whether national or state, that ventures to organize a government, or to administer a government already organized, without making provision for the free education of all its children, dares the certain vengeance of Heaven; and in the squalid forms of poverty and destitution, in the scourges of violence and misrule, in the heart-destroying corruptions of licentiousness and debauchery, and in political profligacy and legalized perfidy, in all the blended and mutually aggravated crimes of civilization and barbarism, will be sure to feel the terrible retributions of its delinquency.

I bring my argument on this point, then, to a close; and I present a test of its validity, which, as it seems to me, defies denial or evasion.

In obedience to the laws of God and to the laws of all civilized communities, society is bound to protect the natural life of children; and this natural life cannot be protected without the appropriation and use of a portion of the property which society possesses. We prohibit infanticide under penalty of death. We practise a refinement in this particular. The life of an infant is inviolable, even before he is born; and he who feloniously takes it, even before birth, is as subject to the extreme penalty of the law as though he had struck down manhood in its vigor, or taken away a mother by violence from the sanctuary of home where she blesses her offspring. But why preserve the natural life of a child, why preserve unborn embryos of life, if we do not intend to watch over and to protect them, and to expand their subsequent existence into usefulness and happiness? As individuals, or as an organized community, we have no natural right, we can derive no authority or countenance from reason, we can cite no attribute or purpose of the divine nature, for giving birth to any human being, and then inflicting upon that being the curse of ignorance, of poverty, and of vice, with all their attendant calamities. We are brought, then, to this startling but inevitable alternative,— the natural life of an infant should be extinguished as soon as it is born, or the means should be provided to save that life from being a curse to its possessor; and, therefore, every State is morally bound to enact a code of laws legalizing and enforcing infanticide or a code of laws establishing free schools.

The three following propositions, then, describe the broad and ever-during foundation on which the common-school system of Massachusetts reposes:—

The successive generations of men, taken collectively, constitute one great commonwealth.

The property of this commonwealth is pledged for the education of all its youth, up to such a point as will save them from poverty and vice, and prepare them for the adequate performance of their social and civil duties.

The successive holders of this property are trustees, bound to the faithful execution of their trust by the most sacred obligations; and embezzlement and pillage from children and descendants have not less of criminality, and have more of meanness, than the same offences when perpetrated against contemporaries.

Recognizing these eternal principles of natural ethics, the Constitution of Massachusetts, the fundamental law of the State, after declaring (among other things) in the preamble to the first section of the fifth chapter that "the encouragement of arts and sciences and all good literature tends to the honor of God. the advantage of the Christian religion, and the great benefit of this and the other United States of America," proceeds, in the second section of the same chapter, to set forth the duties of all future legislators and magistrates in the following noble and impressive language: —

"Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties, and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of legislatures and magistrates in all future periods of this Commonwealth to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them, especially the university of Cambridge, public schools and grammar schools in the towns; to encourage private societies and public institutions, rewards, and immunities for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trade, manufactures, and a natural history of the country; to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings, sincerity, good humor, and all social affections and generous sentiments among the people." See also Rev. Stat., ch. 23, sect. 7.

Massachusetts is *parental* in her government. More and more, as year after year rolls by, she seeks to substitute prevention for remedy, and rewards for penalties. She strives to make industry the antidote to poverty, and to counterwork the progress of vice and crime by the diffusion of knowledge and the culture of virtuous principles. She seeks not only to mitigate those great physical and mental calamities of which mankind are the sad inheritors, but also to avert those infinitely greater moral calamities which form the disastrous heritage of depraved passions. Hence it has long been her policy to endow or to aid asylums for the cure of disease. She succors and maintains all the poor within her borders, whatever may have been the land of their nativity. She founds and supports hospitals for restoring reason to the insane; and even for those violators of the law whom she is obliged to sequestrate from society she provides daily instruction and the ministrations of the gospel at the public charge. To those who, in the order of Nature and Providence, have been bereft of the noble faculties of hearing and of speech, she teaches a new language, and opens their imprisoned minds and hearts to conversation with men and to communion with God; and it hardly transcends the literal truth to say that she gives sight to the blind. For the remnants of those aboriginal tribes, who for so many ages roamed over this land without cultivating its soil or elevating themselves in the scale of being, her annual bounty provides good schools; and, when the equal, natural, and constitutional rights of the outcast children of Africa were thought to be invaded, she armed her courts of judicature with power to punish the aggressors. The public highway is not more open and free for every man in the community than is the public schoolhouse for every child; and each parent feels that a free education is as secure a part of the birthright of his offspring as Heaven's bounties of light and air. The State not only commands that the means of education shall be provided for all, but she denounces penalties against all individuals, and all towns and cities, however populous or powerful they may be, that shall presume to stand between her bounty and its recipients. In her righteous code the interception of knowledge is a crime; and, if parents are unable to supply their children with books, she becomes a parent, and supplies them. . . .

Public sentiment exceeds and excels the law. Annually vast sums are given for eleemosynary and charitable purposes,— to promote the cause of temperance, to send the gospel to the heathen, and to diffuse the doctrines of peace, which are the doctrines of the Prince of Peace.

For public, free education alone, including the direct outlay of money and the interest on capital invested, Massachusetts expends annually more than a million of dollars. To support religious institutions for the worship of God and the salvation of men she annually expends more than another million, and what she gives away in the various forms of charity far exceeds a third sum of equal magnitude. She explores the world for new objects of beneficence; and, so deep and common is the feeling which expects and prompts all this that she is gradually changing and ennobling the definition of a cardinal word in the language of morals,— doing what no king or court with all their authority, nor royal academy with all its sages and literary men, can do: she is changing the meaning of *charity* into *duty*.

For the support of the poor, nine-tenths of whose cost originate with foreigners or come from one prolific vice, whose last convulsive energies she is now struggling to subdue, she annually pays more than three hundred thousand dollars; for the support and improvement of public highways, she pays a much larger sum; and, within the last dozen or fourteen years, she has invested a capital in railroads, within and without the State, of nearly or quite sixty millions of dollars.

Whence comes her means to give with each returning year more than a million of dollars to public education, more than another million to religion, and more than a third to ameliorate and succor the afflicted and the ignorant at home, and to bless, in distant lands, those who sit in the region and shadow of death? How does she support her poor, maintain her public ways, and contribute such vast sums for purposes of internal improvement, besides maintaining her immense commercial transactions with every zone in the world?

Has she a vast domain? Her whole territory would not make a court-yard of respectable dimensions to stand in front of many of the states and territories belonging to the Union. Does she draw revenues from conquered provinces or subjugated realms? She conquers nothing, she subdues nothing, save the great elemental forces of Nature, which God gives freely, whenever and wherever they are asked for in the language of genius and science, and in regard to which no profusion or prodigality to one can diminish the bounty always ready for others.

Does she live by the toil of a race of serfs and vassals whom she holds in personal and hereditary bondage? — by one comprehensive and sovereign act of violence seizing upon both body and soul at once, and superseding the thousand acts of plunder which make up the life of a common robber? Every man who treads her sacred soil is free; all are free alike; and within her borders, for any purpose connected with human slavery, iron will not be welded into a fetter.

Has she rich mines of the precious metals? In all her coffers there is not a drachm of silver or of gold which has not been obtained by the sweat of her brow or the vigor of her brain.

Has she magazines of mineral wealth imbedded in the earth? or are her soil and climate so spontaneously exuberant that she reaps luxuriant harvests from uncultivated fields? Alas! the orator has barbed his satire by declaring her only natural productions to be granite and ice.

Whence, then, I again ask, comes her wealth? I do not mean the gorgeous wealth which is displayed in the voluptuous and too often enervating residences of the affluent, but that *golden mean* of property — such as Agur asked for in his perfect prayer — which carries blessings in its train to thousands of householders, which spreads solid comfort and competence through the dwellings of the land, which furnishes the means of instruction, of social pleasures and refinement to the citizens at large, which saves from the cruel sufferings and the more cruel temptations of penury. The families scattered over her hills and along her valleys have not merely a shelter from the inclemencies of the seasons, but the sanctuary of a home. Not only food, but books, are spread upon their tables. Her commonest houses have the means of hospitality. They have appliances for sickness, and resources laid up against accident and the infirmities of age. Whether in her rural districts or her populous towns, a wandering, native-born beggar is a prodigy; and the twelve millions of dollars deposited in her savings institutions do not more loudly proclaim the frugality and providence of the past than they foretell the competence and enjoyments of the future.

One copious, exhaustless fountain supplies all this abundance. It is education,— the intellectual, moral, and religious education of the people. Having no other mines to work, Massachusetts has mined into the human intellect; and, from its limitless resources, she has won more sustaining and enduring prosperity and happiness than if she had been founded on a stratification of silver and gold, reaching deeper down than geology has yet penetrated. From her high religious convictions she has learned that great lesson,— *to set a value upon time.* Regarding the faculties as the gift of God, she has felt bound both to use and to improve them. Mingling skill and intelligence with the daily occupations of life, she has made labor honorable; and, as a necessary consequence, idleness is disgraceful. Knowledge has been the ambition of her sons, and she has reverenced and venerated the purity and chastity of her matrons and her daughters. At the hearthstone, at the family table, and at the family altar,— on all those occasions where the structure of the youthful character is *builded up*,— these sentiments of love for knowledge, and of reverence for maidenly virtue, have been *builded in;* and there they stand, so wrought and mingled with the fibres of being that none but God can tell which is Nature and which is education, which we owe primarily to the grace of Heaven and which to the co-operating wisdom of the institutions of men. . . . He who studies the present or the historic character of Massachusetts will see (and he who studies it most profoundly will see most clearly) that whatever of abundance, of intelligence, or of integrity, whatever of character at home or of renown abroad, she may possess, all has been evolved from the enlightened and, at least, partially Christianized mind, not of a few, but of the great masses, of her people. They are not the result of outward riches or art brought around it or laminated over it, but of an awakened inward force, working energetically outwards, and fashioning the most intractable circumstances to the dominion of its own desires and resolves; and this force has been awakened and its unspent energies replenished, more than from all things else, by her common schools.

When we witness the mighty achievements of art,— the locomotive, taking up its burden of a hundred tons, and transporting it for hundreds of miles between the rising and the setting sun; the steamboat, cleaving its rapid way, triumphant over wind and tide; the power-loom, yielding products of greater richness and abundance in a single day than all the inhabitants of Tyre could have manufactured in years; the printing-press, which could have replaced the Alexandrian Library within a week after it was burnt; the lightning, not only domesticated in the laboratories of the useful arts, but employed as a messenger between distant cities; and galleries of beautiful paintings, quickened into life by the sunbeams,— when we see all these marvels of power and of celerity, we are prone to conclude that it is to them we are indebted for the increase of our wealth and for the progress of our society. But were there any statistics to show the aggregate value of all the thrifty and gainful habits of the people at large, the greater productiveness of the educated than of the brutified laborer, the increased power of the intelligent hand, and the broad survey and deep intuition of the intelligent eye; could we see a ledger account of the profits which come from forethought, order, and system as they preside over all our farms, in all our workshops, and emphatically in all the labors of our households,— we should then know how rapidly their gathered units swell into millions upon millions. The skill that strikes the nail's head instead of the fingers' ends, the care that mends a fence and saves a cornfield, that drives a horseshoe nail and secures both rider and horse, that extinguishes a light and saves a house, the prudence that cuts the coat according to the cloth, that lays by something for a rainy day and that postpones marriage until reasonably sure of a livelihood, the forethought that sees the end from the beginning, and reaches it by the direct route of an hour instead of the circuitous gropings of a day, the exact remembrance impressed upon childhood to do the errand as it was bidden, and, more than all, the economy of virtue over vice, of restrained over pampered desires,— these things are not set down in the works on political economy; but they have far more to do with the wealth of nations than any laws which aim to regulate the balance of trade, or any speculations on capital and labor, or any of the great achievements of art. That vast variety of ways in which an intelligent people surpass a stupid one, and an exemplary people an immoral one, has infinitely more to do with the well-being of a nation than soil or climate, or even than government itself, excepting so far as government may prove to be the patron of intelligence and virtue.

From her earliest colonial history the policy of Massachusetts has been to develop the minds of all her people, and to imbue them with the principles of duty. To do this work most effectually, she has begun it with the young. If she would continue to mount higher and higher toward the summit of prosperity, she must continue the means by which her present elevation has been gained. In doing this, she will not only exercise the noblest prerogative of government, but will cooperate with the Almighty in one of his sublimest works.

Horace Mann's greatest services to education must be sought in the field of institutions, organization, administration, legislation, and public opinion. He was a great constructive pedagogist, a wise educational statesman, an eloquent tribune of the common school. He called upon the people of all classes, as with the voice of a herald, to raise their estimate of public instruction, and to provide better facilities by which it could be furnished. He devised or adopted new educational agencies, and persuaded the people to use them. He organized public opinion, and influenced the action of legislatures. He gave men higher ideas of the work and character of the teacher at the same time that he taught the teacher to magnify his office. He heightened the popular estimate of the instruments that are conducive and necessary to the existence of good schools. He elevated men's ideas of the value of ethical training, and made valuable suggestions looking to its prosecution. But his great theme was the relation of intellectual and moral knowledge to human well-being, individual and social. Here his faith never faltered, his ardor never cooled. In no other name did he trust for the safety of society. A confirmed rationalist, he looked with supreme confidence to the healing power of popular intelligence and virtue. In his successive reports and addresses he set forth his faith, and the grounds of it, with wonderful force of statement and fertility of illustration. To him the old theme was ever new and ever fascinating. He poured into the body politic a large measure of his own lofty faith, his great unselfishness, his burning enthusiasm. He believed in the democratizing movement of modern times, and preached the perfectibility of man. It was in this way that, as Mr. Parker said, he took up the common schools of Massachusetts in his arms and blessed them. No doubt he committed the mistake that rationalists are always prone to commit,— that of overestimating the power of intelligence as a means to virtue. Still, it is perfectly obvious that a generous measure of such confidence is a prerequisite to the efficiency and even to the existence of public schools, and that it forms the very foundation of democratic government.— *Hinsdale.*

Horace Mann was the great leader in the Common School Revival in New England in the middle of the present century. The Massachusetts State Board of Education was created in 1837, through the efforts of James G. Carter and others; and Mann became its first secretary, holding the position until 1848. His influence upon educational thought and sentiment, not only in Massachusetts, but throughout the country, was unparalleled. To him more, perhaps, than to any other, our common-school system is indebted for its remarkable development during the last half of the century. His twelve annual reports, each devoted to distinct subjects, are classics in our educational literature. The tenth report, that of 1846, is given in the present leaflet, almost in its entirety. A brief outline of the twelve reports may be found in Hinsdale's little volume upon Mann, chap. vii; also in Dr. William T. Harris's address at the Mann Centennial, printed in the Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1895–96, vol. i. All of these reports are printed in full in the Life and Works of Horace Mann, 5 vols.; and here also (vol. ii.) may be found the seven lectures delivered by Mann in successive years before the various county conventions of the State. The third and fifth of these lectures, "The Necessity of Education in a Republican Government" and "An

Historical View of Education, showing its Dignity and its Degradation," are especially commended to the student as re-enforcing the considerations urged in the report reprinted in the present leaflet.

A thorough life of Horace Mann, by Mrs. Mann, occupies the first of the five volumes of the Life and Works; and there is an admirable brief biography by Prof. B. A. Hinsdale in the "Great Educators" series, which contains, in an appendix, an excellent bibliography. The survey of the period, in this little volume, is most discriminating; and Dr. Hinsdale performs a distinct service in directing attention so intelligently and justly to Mann's forerunners, and especially to James G. Carter, "the one man who did more to cast up a highway for Horace Mann than any other." "To him," says Henry Barnard, "more than to any other one person belongs the credit of having first attracted the attention of the leading minds of Massachusetts to the necessity of immediate and thorough improvement in the system of free or public schools." George B. Emerson rightly bestowed upon him the title of "Father of Normal Schools"; and Dr. Hinsdale pronounces his *Letters on the Free Schools of New England* "incomparably the best existing mirror of education in New England in the first quarter of this century." This, and his *Essays upon Popular Education*, the closing essay of which outlines the modern Normal School, should be read by the student who would understand the situation into which Horace Mann entered, and by the general student of the history of education in America in the nineteenth century.

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The Romance of New England History.

By RUFUS CHOATE.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ILLUSTRATING NEW ENGLAND HISTORY BY A SERIES OF ROMANCES LIKE THE WAVERLEY NOVELS. AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT SALEM, 1833.

The history of the United States, from the planting of the several colonies out of which they have sprung to the end of the War of the Revolution, is now as amply written, as accessible, and as authentic, as any other portion of the history of the world, and incomparably more so than an equal portion of the history of the origin and first ages of any other nation that ever existed. But there is one thing more which every lover of his country and every lover of literature would wish done for our early history. He would wish to see such a genius as Walter Scott (*exoriatur aliquis*), or, rather, a thousand such as he, undertake in earnest to illustrate that early history by a series of romantic compositions "in prose or rhyme," like the Waverley Novels, the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," and the "Lady of the Lake," the scenes of which should be laid in North America somewhere in the time before the Revolution, and the incidents and characters of which should be selected from the records and traditions of that, our heroic age. He would wish at length to hear such a genius mingling the tones of a ravishing national minstrelsy with the grave narrative, instructive reflections, and chastened feelings of Marshall, Pitkin, Holmes, and Ramsay. He would wish to see him giving to the natural scenery of the New World and to the celebrated personages and grand incidents of its earlier annals the same kind and degree of interest which Scott has given to the High-lands, to the Reformation, the Crusades, to Richard, the Lion-hearted, and to Louis XI. He would wish to see him clear away the obscurity which two centuries have been collecting over it, and unroll a vast, comprehensive, and vivid panorama of our old New England lifetimes, from its sublimest moments to its minutest manners. He would wish to see him begin with the landing of the Pilgrims, and pass down to the War of Independence, from one epoch and one generation to another, like Old Mortality among the graves of the unforgotten faithful, wiping the dust from the urns of our fathers, gathering up whatever of illustrious achievement, of heroic suffering, of unwavering faith, their history commemorates, and weaving it all into an immortal and noble national literature,— pouring over the whole time, its incidents, its actors, its customs, its opinions, its moods of feeling, the brilliant illustration, the unfading glories, which the fictions of genius alone can give to the realities of life.

For our lawyers, politicians, and for most purposes of mere utility, business, and intellect, our history now perhaps unfolds a sufficiently "ample page." But I confess I should love to see it assume a form in which it should speak directly to the heart and affections and imagination of the whole people. I should love to see by the side of these formidable records of dates and catalogues of British governors and provincial acts of Assembly,— these registers of the settlement of towns and the planting of churches and convocation of synods and drawing up of platforms,— by the side of these austere and simply severe narratives of Indian wars, English usurpations, French intrigues, Colonial risings, and American independence,— I should love to see by the side of these great and good books about a thousand neat duodecimos of the size of "Ivanhoe," "Kenilworth," and "Marmion," all full of pictures of our natural beauty and grandeur, the still richer pictures of our society and manners, the lights and shadows of our life, full of touching incidents, generous sentiments, just thoughts, beaming images, such as are scattered over everything which Scott has written, as thick as stars on the brow of night, and give to everything he has written that imperishable, strange charm, which will be on it and embalm it forever. . . .

I venture to maintain, first, that such works as these would possess a very high historical value. They would be valuable for the light they would shed upon the first one hundred and fifty years of our Colonial existence. They would be valuable as helps to history, as contributions to history, as real and authoritative documents of history. They would be valuable for the same reason that the other more formal and graver records of our history are so, if not quite in the same degree.

To make this out, it may be necessary to pause a moment and analyze these celebrated writings, and inquire what they contain and how they are made up. It is so easy to read Scott's Novels that we are apt to forget with how much labor he prepared himself to *write* them. We are imposed on, startled perhaps, by the words novel and poem. We forget that any one of them is not merely a brilliant and delightful romance, but a deep, well-considered, and instructive essay on the manners, customs, and political condition of England or Scotland at the particular period to which it refers. Such is the remark of a foreign critic of consummate taste and learning, and it is certainly just. Let us reverently attempt to unfold the process — to indicate the course of research and reflection — by which they are perfected, and thus to detect the secret not so much of their extraordinary power and popularity as of their historical value.

He selects, then, I suppose (I write of him as living; for, though dead, he still speaks to the whole reading population of the world), first, the country in which he will lay the scenes of his action,— Scotland, perhaps, or merry England, or the beautiful France. He marks off the portions of that country within which the leading incidents shall be transacted, as a conjurer draws the charmed circle with his wand on the floor of the Cave of Magic. Then he studies the topography of the region — its scenery, its giant mountains, its lakes, glens, forests, falls of water — as minutely as Malté Brun or Humboldt; but choosing out with a poet's eye and retaining with a poet's recollection the grand, picturesque, and graceful points of the whole transcendent landscape. Then he goes on to collect and treasure up the artificial, civil, historical features of the country. He explores its antiquities, becomes minutely familiar with every city and castle and cathedral which still stands and with the grander ruins of all which have fallen,— familiar with every relic and trace of man and art, down even to the broken cistern which the Catholic charity of a former age had hewn out by the wayside for the pilgrim to drink in. He gathers up all the traditions and legendary history of the place, every story of "hopeless love or glory won," with the time, the spot, the circumstances, as particularly and as fondly as if he had lived there a thousand years. He selects the age to which his narrative shall refer, perhaps that of Richard, or Elizabeth, or Charles the Second, or of the rebellion of 1745; and forthwith engages in a deep and discursive study of its authentic history and biography, its domestic and foreign politics, the state of parties, the character and singularities of the reigning king and his court and of the prominent personages of the day, its religious condition, the wars, revolts, revolutions, and great popular movements, all the predominant objects of interest and excitement, and all which made up the public and out-of-door life and history of that particular generation. He goes deeper still: the state of society, the manners, customs, and employments of the people, their dress, their arms and armor, their amusements, their entire indoor and domestic life, the rank and accomplishments of the sexes respectively, their relations to each other, the extent of their popular and higher education, their opinions, superstitions, morals, jurisprudence, and police,—all these he investigates as earnestly as if he were nothing but an antiquarian, but with the liberal, enlightened, and tolerant curiosity of a scholar, philosopher, philanthropist, who holds that man is not only the most proper, but most delightful study of man. Thus thoroughly furnished, he chooses an affecting incident, real or imaginary, for his groundwork, and rears upon it a composition which the mere novel-reader will admire for its absorbing narrative and catastrophe; the critic for its elegant style, dazzling poetry, and elaborate art; the student of human nature for its keen and shrewd views of man, "for each change of many-colored life he draws"; the student of history for its penetrating development and its splendid, exact, and comprehensive illustration of the spirit of one of the marked ages of the world. And this is a Waverley Novel!

Perhaps I am now prepared to restate and maintain the general position which I have taken,—that a series of North American or New England Waverley Novels would be eminently valuable auxiliaries to the authoritative written history of New England and of North America.

In the first place, they would embody, and thus would fix deep in the general mind and memory of the whole people, a vast amount of positive information quite as authentic and valuable and curious as that which makes up the matter of professed history, but which the mere historian does not and cannot furnish. They would thus be not substitutes for history, but supplements to it. Let us dwell upon this consideration for a moment. It is wonderful, when you think closely on it, how little of all which we should love to know and ought to know about a former period and generation a really standard history tells us. From the very nature of that kind of composition it must be so. Its appropriate and exclusive topics are a few prominent, engrossing, and showy incidents,— wars, conquests, revolutions, changes of dynasties, battles, and sieges,— the exterior and palpable manifestations of the workings of the stormy and occasional passions of men moving in large masses on the high places of the world. These topics it treats instructively and eloquently. But what an inadequate conception does such a book give you of the time, the country, and the people to which it relates! What a meagre, cold, and unengaging outline does it trace, and how utterly deficient in minute, precise, and circumstantial and satisfactory information! How little does it tell you of the condition and character of the great body of the people,— their occupations, their arts and customs, their joys and sorrows! how little of the origin, state, and progress of opinions and of the spirit of the age! How misty, indistinct, and tantalizing are the glimpses you gain of that old, fair, wonderful creation which you long to explore! It is like a vast landscape painting in which nothing is represented but the cloven summit and grand sweep of the mountain, a portion of the sounding shore of the illimitable sea, the dim, distant course of a valley, traversed by the father of rivers two thousand miles in length, and which has no place for the enclosed corn-field, the flocks upon a thousand hills, the cheerful country-seat, the village spires, the churchyard, the vintage, the harvest-home, the dances of peasants, and the "cotter's Saturday night."

Now the use, one use, of such romances as Scott's is to supply these deficiencies of history. Their leading object, perhaps, may be to tell an interesting story with some embellishments of poetry and eloquence and fine writing and mighty dialogue. But the plan on which they are composed requires that they should interweave into their main design a near, distinct, and accurate, but magnified and ornamental view of the times, people, and country to which that story goes back. They are, as it were, telescope, microscope and kaleidoscope all in one, if the laws of optics permit such an illustration. They give you the natural scenery of that country in a succession of landscapes fresh and splendid as any in the whole compass of literature, yet as topographically accurate as you will find in any geography or book of travels. They cause a crowded but exact and express image of the age and society of which they treat to pass before you as you see Moscow or Jerusalem or Mexico in a showman's box. They introduce genuine specimens,— real living men and women of every class and calling in society, as it was then constituted, and make them talk and act in character. You see their dress, their armor, and their weapons of war. You sit at their tables, you sleep under their roof-tree, you fish, hunt, and fowl with them. You follow them to their employments in field, forest, and workshop, you travel their roads, cross their rivers, worship with them at church, pledge them at the feast, and hear their war-cry in battle, and the coronach which announces and laments their fall. Time and space are thus annihilated by the power of genius. Instead of reading about a past age, you live in it. Instead of looking through a glass darkly at vast bodies in the distance,— at the separate, solitary glories of a sky beyond your reach,— wings as of the morning are given you: you ascend to that sky, and gaze on their unveiled present glories. It is as if you were placed in the streets of a city buried eighteen hundred years ago by the lava of a volcano, and saw it suddenly and completely disinterred, and its whole, various population raised in a moment to life in the same attitudes, clothed upon with the same bodies, wearing the same dresses, engaged in the same occupations, and warmed by the same passions, in which they perished! It would carry me too far to illustrate these thoughts by minute references to all Scott's poetry and romances, or to attempt to assort the particulars and sum up the aggregate of the real historical information for which we are indebted to that poetry and those romances. Go back, however, at random, to the age of Richard of the Lion Heart, the close of the twelfth century, the era of chivalry, the Crusades, and almost of Magna Charta. Read of it first in the acute and elegant Hume and the laborious Lingard; and then open the splendid romance of "Ivanhoe," and see not which most interests you, but which relates most vividly, most minutely, and most completely, the authentic history of the England of that troubled yet glorious day. The character and peculiarities of the chivalrous Richard; his physical strength; his old English good-nature and companionable and convivial qualities and practices; his romantic love of adventure and peril and of the rapture of battle (*certaminis gaudia*), relieved and softened by his taste for troubadour music and song; the cold, jealous, timid temper of his brother John, at once an ambitious usurper and an unprincipled voluptuary; the intriguing politics of his court; his agency in procuring Richard's long imprisonment in Germany, and his sudden start of terror on hearing of his escape and return to England to claim his throne; the separation of the English people of that era into two great distinct and strongly marked races, the Saxon and the Norman; the characteristic traits and employments of each; the relations they sustained to each other; their mutual fear, hatred, and suspicion; the merry lives of Robin Hood and his archers in the forest; the pride and licentiousness of the bold Norman barons, and the barbaric magnificence of their castles, equipage, and personal decoration; the contrasted poverty and dignified sorrow of the fallen Saxon chiefs; the institutions and rites of a still gorgeous but waning chivalry; the skilful organization, subtle policy, and imposing exterior of the order of the Templars; the pride, pomp, and circumstance of the gilded and sounding era of the Crusades,— these topics, this information, not the well-feigned fortunes of Isaac, Rebecca, Athelstane, Wilfred, give to the surpassing poetry and painting of this unequalled romance a permanent and recognized historical value, and entitle it to a place upon the same shelf with the more exclusive and pretending teachers of English history.

Let me remind you that Scott is not the only writer of romance who has made his fiction the vehicle of authentic and useful information concerning the past, and thus earned the praise of a great historian. Let me remind you of another instance,— the most splendid in literature. The Iliad and Odyssey of Homer,— what are they but great Waverley Novels? And yet what were our knowledge of the first four hundred years of Grecian history without them? Herodotus, the father of history, devotes about twenty-five duodecimo lines to the subject of the Trojan Wanderer; and, without meaning any disrespect to so revered a name, so truly valuable a writer, I must say that this part of his narrative is just about as interesting and instructive as an account in a Castine newspaper that in a late, dark night a schooner from Eastport got upon Mt. Desert Rock, partly bilged, but that no lives were lost, and there was no insurance. Unroll, now, by the side of this the magnificent cartoons on which Homer has painted the heroic age of the bright clime of battle and of song! Abstracting your attention for a moment from the beauty and grandeur and consummate art of these compositions, just study them for the information they embody. We all know that critics have deduced the rules of epic poetry from these inspired models, and Horace tells us that they are better teachers of morality than the Stoic doctors, Chrysippus and Crates. But what else may you learn from them? The ancient geography of Greece; the number, names, localities, and real or legendary history of its tribes; the condition of its arts, trades, agriculture, navigation, and civil policy; its military and maritime resources; its manners and customs; its religious opinions and observances and mythology and festivals,—this is the information for which we are indebted to an old, wandering, blind harper,—just such another as he who sang the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" to the ladies of Newark Castle. . . .

It is time now to turn to our early history, and consider more directly in what way and to what extent *our* Iliad and Odyssey, and "Ivanhoe" and "Kenilworth," when they come to be written, will help to illustrate and to complete and to give attraction to that history. Select, then, for this purpose, almost at random, any memorable event or strongly marked period in our annals. King Philip's War is as good an illustration as at this moment occurs to me. What do our historians tell us of that war? and of New England during that war? You will answer substantially this: It was a war excited by Philip—a bold, crafty, and perfidious Indian chief dwelling at Bristol in Rhode Island—for the purpose of extirpating or expelling the English colonists of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. It began in 1675 by an attack on the people of Swanzey, as they were returning on Sunday from meeting. It ended in August, 1676, at Mount Hope, by the death of Philip and the annihilation of his tribe. In the course of these two years he had succeeded in drawing into his designs perhaps fifteen or twenty communities of Indians, and had at one time and another perhaps eight or ten thousand men in arms.

The scenes of the war shifted successively from Narragansett Bay to the northern line of Massachusetts in the valley of the Connecticut River. But there was safety nowhere. There was scarcely a family of which a husband, a son, a brother, had not fallen. The land was filled with mourning. Six hundred dwelling-houses were burned with fire. Six hundred armed young men and middle-aged fell in battle, as many others, including women and children, were carried away into that captivity so full of horrors to a New England imagination. The culture of the earth was interrupted. The prayers, labors, and sufferings of half a century were nearly forever frustrated.

Such is about the whole of what history records, or, rather, of what the great body of our well-educated readers know of the New England of 1675, and of the severest and most interesting crisis through which, in any epoch, the colony was called to pass. Now, I say, commit this subject, King Philip's War, to Walter Scott, the poet, or the novelist, and you would see it wrought up and expanded into a series of pictures of the New England of that era, so full, so vivid, so true, so instructive, so moving, that they would grave themselves upon the memory and dwell in the hearts of our whole people forever. How he would do this, precisely what kinds of novels and poems he would write, . . . it would be presumptuous in me to venture fully to explain. Some imperfect and modest conjectures upon this point, however, I hope you will excuse.

In the first place, he would collect and display a great many particulars of positive information concerning these old times, either not contained at all in our popular histories or not in a form to fix the attention of the general reader. He would spread out before you the external aspects and scenery of that New England, and contrast them with those which our eyes are permitted to see, but which our fathers died without beholding. And what a contrast! The grand natural outline and features of the country were indeed the same then as now, and are so yesterday, to-day, and always. The same waves dashed high upon the same "stern and rock-bound coast"; the same rivers poured their sweet and cheerful tides into the same broad bay; the same ascending succession of geological formations — the narrow sandy belt of seashore and marsh and river intervals, the wider level of upland, the green or rocky hill, the mountain bearing its gray summit to the skies — met the eye then as now; the same east wind chilled the lingering spring; the same fleecy clouds, bland south-west wind, yellow and crimson leaf, and insidious disease waited upon the coming in of autumn. But how was it in that day with those more characteristic, changeful, and interesting aspects which man gives to a country? These ripened fruits of two hundred years of labor and liberty; these populous towns; this refined and affluent society; these gardens, orchards, and corn-fields; these manufactories and merchant-ships,— where were they then? The whole Colonial population of New England, including Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, Maine, New Hampshire, at the breaking out of that war has been variously estimated at from 40,000 to 120,000. I suppose that 80,000 may be a fair average of these estimates,— a little less than the present population of the single county of Essex. They were planted along the coast from the mouth of the Kennebec to New Haven, upon a strip of country of a medium width, inwards from the sea, of forty or fifty miles, a great deal of which, however, was still wholly unreclaimed to cultivation, and much of it still occupied by its original and native owners. This belt of seacoast — for it was no more than that — was the New England of 1675. Within this belt, and up the interval land of some of the rivers — the Merrimac, the Charles, the Connecticut — which passed down through it to the sea, a few settlements had been thrown forward; but, as a general fact, the whole vast interior to the line of New York, Vermont, and lower Canada, including in Massachusetts a part of the counties of Essex, Middlesex, Worcester, Old Hampshire, Berkshire, was a primeval wilderness, beneath whose ancient shadow a score of Indian tribes maintained their fires of war and council, and observed the rites of that bloody and horrible Paganism which formed their only religion.

On this narrow border were stretched along the low wooden houses, with their wooden chimneys; the patches of Indian corn, crossed and enclosed by the standing forest; the smooth-shaven meadow and salt marsh; the rocky pasture of horses, sheep, and neat cattle; the fish-flakes, lumber-yards, the fishing boats and coasting shallops; West India and Wine Islands merchant-ships; the meeting-houses, wind-mills, and small stockade forts, which made up the human, artificial, and visible exterior of the New England of that era. Altogether, the whole scene, in its natural and in its cultivated elements, was in exact keeping with the condition and character and prospects of that generation of our ancestors. It was the dwelling-place of the Pilgrims and of the children of the Pilgrims. There lay — covered over, as it were, partially sheltered, yet not wholly out of danger, like the sowing of a winter grain — the germs of this day's exceeding glory, beauty, and strength. There rose, plain, massive, and deep-set, the basement stories of our religious, civil, and literary institutions, beaten against and raged around by many a tempest and many a flood, yet not falling; for their foundation was a rock. Fifty years of continual emigration from England and of general peace and general health had swelled the handful of men who came passengers in the "Mayflower" to Plymouth and in the "Abigail" to Salem and in the "Arbella" to Boston into an infant people. Independence of the mother country had hardly yet entered the waking or sleeping dreams of any man; but, as against all the world besides, they had begun to utter the language, put on the habits, and assume the port, of a nascent and asserted sovereignty and national existence. Some portion of the great work which they were sent hither to do they had already done. They had constructed a republican, representative government. They had made provision for the mental and moral culture of the rising nation. Something of the growth of a half-century of industry — "immature buds, blossoms fallen from the tree, and green fruit"— were beginning to gladden the natural and the moral prospect. Still, the general aspect of the scenery of that day, even if surveyed from one of those eminences which now rise in so much beauty around Boston, would have seemed to the senses and imagination of a beholder wild, austere, and uninviting. The dreams of some of the sanguine early settlers were by this time finished. It had been discovered by this time that our soil contained neither gold nor silver; and that, although we could purchase very good wine at Fayal or Madeira, with the proceeds of the fish we sold at Bilboa, we were not likely to quite rival Hungary, as Master Grave, the engineer, in 1629, thought we should, in the domestic article. The single damask rose grew wild by the walls, as Mr. Higginson says it did in his time; but all felt by the year 1675 that it was, on the whole, a somewhat ungenial heaven beneath which their lot was cast, yielding nothing to luxury and nothing to idleness, but yet holding out to faith, to patience and labor, freedom and public and private virtue, the promise of a latter day far off of glory, honor, and enjoyment. Everything around you spoke audibly to the senses and imagination of toil and privation, of wearisome days and sleepless nights, of serious aims, grave duties, and hope deferred without making the heart sick. You looked upon the first and hardest conflicts of civilized man with unreclaimed nature and uncivilized man. You saw all around you the blended antagonist manifestations and insignia of a divided empire. Indian wigwams and the one thousand houses of Boston sent up their smoke into the same sky. Indian canoes and the fishing and coasting craft and merchantmen, loading for Spain and Africa and the West Indies, floated upon the same waters. English grain and grasses grew among the blackened stumps of the newly fallen forest. Men went armed to their fields, to meeting, and to bring home their brides from their father's house where they had married them. It was like the contest of winter and spring described by Thomson, or like that of the good and evil principle of the Oriental superstitions; and it might at first seem doubtful which would triumph. But, when you contemplated the prospect a little more closely,— when you saw what costly and dear pledges the Pilgrims had already given to posterity and the new world, when you saw the fixtures which they had settled into and incorporated with its soil, the brick college at Cambridge, and the meeting-houses sending up their spires from every clearing, when you surveyed the unostentatious but permanent and vast improvements which fifty years had traced upon the face of that stern and wild land and garnered up in its bosom, when you looked steadfastly into the countenances of those men and read there that expression of calm resolve, high hope, and fixed faith, when you heard their prayers for that once pleasant England as for a land they no longer desired to see, for the new world, now not merely the scene of their duties, but the home of their heart's adoption,— you would no longer doubt that, though the next half-century should be, as it proved, a long, bloody warfare, though the mother country should leave them, as she did, to contend single-handed with Indians, French, and an unpropitious soil and sky, though acts of navigation and boards of trade should restrain their enterprise and rob it of its rewards, that their triumph was still certain, and a later generation would partake of its fruits, and be encompassed about by its glory. A thousand instructive particulars would be collected by such an antiquarian as the author of "Old Mortality," serving to illustrate the employments, customs, and character of this portion of our ancestors, and embodied in such a form as to become permanently a part of the current knowledge of an educated people. The industry of New England in 1675 had taken almost all the great leading directions in which it afterwards exerted itself with splendid success. There were then nearly five hundred fishing vessels, large and small, in the four colonies. The export of fish to the north of Spain, to Fayal and Madeira, and of lumber, pipe-staves, provisions, naval stores, and neat cattle to the West Indies, and the import of wines and West India goods employed from one to two hundred vessels more, of a larger rate, built and owned in New England. The principal import of British goods was to Boston, whence they were shipped coastwise to Maine, Hartford, and New Haven. Linen, woollen, and cotton cloth, glass, and salt, to some extent, were manufactured in Massachusetts. The flax was all raised here, the wool chiefly. The cotton was imported. The equality of fortunes was remarkable even for that age of simple habits and general industry and morality. There were only fifteen or twenty merchants worth five hundred pounds each, and there were no beggars. The most showy mansion contained no more than twenty rooms; but the meanest cottage had at least two stories,—a remarkable improvement since 1629, when the house of the Lady Moody, a person of great consideration in Salem, is said to have been only nine feet high, with a wooden chimney in the centre. Governor Winthrop says in his Journal that he spent in the years he was governor five hundred pounds per annum, of which two hundred pounds—rot seven hundred dollars—would have maintained him in a private condition. There were no musicians by trade. A dancing-school was attempted, but failed. But a fencing-school in Boston succeeded eminently. We all know that fencing, without foils or tuition-fees, was the daily and nightly exercise of the youth and manhood of the colonies for half the first century of their existence. It is strikingly characteristic of our fathers of that day of labor, temperate habits, and austere general morality, that a synod convened in 1679 to inquire what crying sin of practice or opinion had brought down the judgment of

God on the colonies ascribed it very much to the intemperate and luxurious habits of what they deemed a backsliding and downward age. Hubbard reckons among the moral causes of that war the pride, intemperance, and worldly-mindedness of the people: and another writer of that day denounces with most lachrymose eloquence the increasing importations of wine, threatening the Ararat of the Pilgrims with a new kind of deluge. . . .

There are two or three subjects, among a thousand others of a different character, connected with the history of New England in that era which deserve and would reward the fullest illustration which learning and genius and philosophy could bestow. They have been treated copiously and ably; but I am sure that whoso creates the romantic literature of the country will be found to have placed them in new lights, and to have made them for the first time familiar, intelligible, and interesting to the mass of the reading community.

Let me instance as one of these the old Puritan character. In every view of it, it was an extraordinary mental and moral phenomenon. The countless influences which have been acting on man ever since his creation — the countless variety of condition and circumstances of climate, of government, of religion, and of social systems in which he has lived — never produced such a specimen of character as this before, and never will do so again. It was developed, disciplined, and perfected for a particular day and a particular duty. When that day was ended and that duty done, it was dissolved again into its elements and disappeared among the common forms of humanity apart from which it had acted and suffered, above which it had towered, yet out of which it had been by a long process elaborated. The human influences which combined to form the Puritan character from the general mind of England, which set this sect apart from all the rest of the community, and stamped upon it a system of manners, a style of dress and salutation and phraseology, a distinct, entire scheme of opinions upon religion, government, morality, and human life, marking it off from the crowds about it, as the fabled waters of the classical fountain passed underneath the sea, unmingled, unchanged in taste or color, — these things are matters of popular history, and I need not enumerate or weigh them. What was the final end for which the Puritans were raised up, we, also, in some part all know. All things here in

New England proclaim it. The works which they did, these testify of them and of the objects and reality of their mission, and they are inscribed upon all the sides of our religious, political, and literary edifices, legibly and imperishably.

But while we appreciate what the Puritans have done, and recognize the divine wisdom and purposes in raising them up to do it, something is wanting yet to give to their character and fortunes a warm, quick interest, a charm for the feelings and imagination, an abiding-place in the heart and memory and affections of all the generations of the people to whom they bequeathed these representative governments and this undefiled religion. It is time that literature and the arts should at least co-operate with history. Themes more inspiring or more instructive were never sung by old or modern bards in hall or bower. The whole history of the Puritans — of that portion which remained in England and plucked Charles from his throne and buried crown and mitre beneath the foundations of the Commonwealth, and of that other not less noble portion which came out hither from England and founded a freer, fairer, and more enduring Commonwealth, all the leading traits of their religious, intellectual, and active character, their theological doctrines, their superstitions, their notions of the divine government and economy, and of the place they filled in it, everything about them, every thing which befell them — was out of the ordinary course of life; and he who would adequately record their fortunes, display their peculiarities, and decide upon their pretensions must, like the writer of the Pentateuch, put in requisition alternately music, poetry, eloquence, and history, and speak by turns to the senses, the fancy, and the reason of the world.

They were persecuted for embracing a purer Protestantism than the Episcopacy of England in the age of Elizabeth. Instead of ceasing to be Protestants, persecution made them republicans also. They were nicknamed "Puritans" by their enemies. Then afterward they became a distinct, solitary caste,— among, but not of, the people of England. They were flattered, they were tempted, they were shut up in prison, they were baptized with the fire of martyrdom. Solicitation, violence, were alike unavailing, except to consolidate their energies, perfect their virtues, and mortify their human affections,— to raise their thoughts from the kingdoms and kings of this world and the glory of them to the contemplation of that surpassing glory which is to be revealed. Some of them at length — not so much because these many years of persecution had wearied or disheartened them as because they saw in it an intimation of the will of God — sought the freedom which there they found not on the bleak seashore and beneath the dark pine forest of New England. History, fiction, literature, does not record an incident of such moral sublimity as this. Others, like Æneas, have fled from the city of their fathers after the victor has entered and fired it. But the country they left was peaceful, cultivated, tasteful, merry England. The asylum they sought was upon the very outside of the world. Others have traversed seas as wide for fame or gold. Not so the Puritans.

"Nor lure of conquest's meteor beam,
Nor dazzling mines of fancy's dream,
Nor wild adventure's love to roam
Brought from their fathers' ancient home
O'er the wide sea the Pilgrim host."

It was fit that the founders of our race should have been such men,— that they should have so labored and so suffered, that their tried and strenuous virtues should stand out in such prominence and grandeur. It will be well for us when their story shall have grown "familiar as a household word," when it shall make even your children's bosoms glow and their eyes glisten in the ballad and nursery-tale, and give pathos and elevation to our whole higher national minstrelsy.

There is another subject connected with our early history eminently adapted to the nature and purposes of romantic literature, and worthy to be illustrated by such a literature; that is, the condition, prospects, and fate of the New England tribes of Indians at the epoch of Philip's War. It has sometimes been remarked as a matter of reproach to a community that it has suffered its benefactors to perish of want, and then erected statues to their memory. The crime does not lie in erecting the statue, but in having suffered the departed good and great, whom it commemorates, to perish. It has been our lot in the appointments of Providence to be, innocently or criminally, instruments in sweeping from the earth one of the primitive families of man. We build our houses upon their graves. Our cattle feed upon the hills from which they cast their last look upon the land, pleasant to them as it is now pleasant to us, in which through an immemorial antiquity their generations had been dwelling. The least we can do for them, for science and letters, is to preserve their history. This we have done. We have explored their antiquities, studied and written their language and deduced its grammar, recorded their traditions, traced their wanderings, and embodied in one form or another their customs, their employments, their superstitions, and their religious belief. But there is in this connection one thing which, perhaps, poetry and romance can alone do, or can best do. It is to go back to the epoch of this war, for example; paint vividly and affectingly the condition of the tribes which then wandered over, rather than occupied, the boundless wilderness extending from the margin of seacoast covered by the colonists to the line of New York and Canada. The history of man, like the roll of the Prophet, is full, within and without, of mourning, lamentation, and woe; but I do not know that in all that history there is a situation of such mournful interest as this.

The terrible truth had at length flashed upon the Indian chief that the presence of civilization, even of humane, peaceful, and moral civilization, was incompatible with the existence of Indians. He comprehended at length the tremendous power which knowledge, arts, law, government, confer upon social man. He looked in vain to the physical energies, the desperate, random, uncombined, and desultory exertions, the occasional individual virtues and abilities of barbarism, for an equal power to resist it. He saw the advancing population of the colonies. He saw shiploads of white men day after day coming ashore from some land beyond the sea, of which he could only know that it was over-peopled. Every day the woodman's axe sounded nearer and nearer. Every day some valuable fishing or hunting ground or corn-land or meadow passed out of the Indian possession, and was locked up forever in the mortmain grasp of an English title. What, then, where, then, was the hope of the Indian? Of the tribes far off to the East — the once terrible Tarrateens — they had no knowledge, but more dread than of the English themselves. The difficulty of communication, the diversity of languages, the want of a press, the unsocial habits and policy of all nomadic races, made alliances with the Five Nations in New York — with any considerable tribe out of New England — impracticable. Civilization, too, was pushing its prow up the Hudson even more adventurously than upon the Connecticut and Charles, the Merrimac, the Piscataqua and the Kennebec. They were encompassed about as by the embrace of a serpent, contracting its folds closer at every turn and struggle of its victim, and leisurely choosing its own time to crush him to death. Such were the condition and prospects of the Indians of New England at the beginning of Philip's War.

It is doubtful if that celebrated chief intended to provoke such a war, or if he ever anticipated for it a successful issue. But there is no doubt that after it had begun he threw his whole great powers into the conduct of it; that he formed and moved a confederacy of almost all the aborigines of New England to its support, that he exhausted every resource of bravery and Indian soldiership and statesmanship, that he died at last for a land and for a throne which he could not save. Our fathers called him King Philip, in jest. I would not wrong his warrior shade by comparing him with any five in six of the kings of Europe of his day or ours; and I sincerely wish that the elaborate jests and puns put forth by Hubbard and Mather upon occasion of his death were erased from the records of New England.

In the course of this decisive struggle with the colonists the Indians, some time when all human help seemed to fail, turned in anger and despair to the gods of their gloomy and peculiar worship. Beneath the shades of the forest, which had stood from the creation, at the entrance of caverns at midnight, in tempest and thunder, they shed the human blood and uttered the incantations which their superstitions prescribed, and called up the spirits of evil to blast these daring strangers who neither feared nor honored nor recognized the ancient divinities of the Indians. The spirits they had raised abandoned them. Their offering was not accepted: their fires of sacrifice were put out. The long, dreary sigh of the night-wind in the tops of the pines alone answered their misguided and erring prayers. Then they felt that their doom was sealed, and the cry, piercing, bitter, and final, of a perishing nation arose to heaven.

Let me solicit your attention to another view of this subject. I have urged thus far that our future Waverley Novels and poetry would contain a good deal of positive information which our histories do not contain,— gleanings, if you please, of what the licensed reapers have, intentionally or unintentionally, let fall from their hands; and that this information would be authentic and valuable. I now add that they would have another use. They would make the information which our histories do contain more accessible and more engaging to the great body of readers, even if they made no addition to its absolute quantity. They would melt down, as it were, and stamp the heavy bullion into a convenient, universal circulating medium. They would impress the facts, the lessons of history, more deeply, and incorporate them more intimately into the general mind and heart, and current and common knowledge of the people.

All history, all records of the past, of the acts, opinions, and characters of those who have preceded us in the great procession of the generations, is full of instruction and written for instruction. Especially may we say so of our own history. But, of all which it teaches, its moral lessons are, perhaps, the most valuable. It holds up to our emulation and love great models of patriotism and virtue. It introduces us into the presence of venerated ancestors, "of whom the world was not worthy." It teaches us to appreciate and cherish this good land, these free forms of government, this pure worship of the conscience, these schools of popular learning, by reminding us through how much tribulation — not our own, but others — these best gifts of God to man have been secured to us. It corrects the cold selfishness which would regard ourselves, our day, and our generation as a separate and insulated portion of man and time; and, awakening our sympathies for those who have gone before, it makes us mindful, also, of those who are to follow, and thus binds us to our fathers and to our posterity by a lengthening and golden cord. It helps us to realize the serene and august presence and paramount claims of our country, and swells the deep and full flood of American feeling.

I say that he who writes the romance of history, as Scott has written it, shall teach these lessons and exert and diffuse these influences even better than he who confines himself to what I may call the reality of history. Much of what history relates produces no impression upon the moral sentiments or the imagination. It is truth, fact; but it is just what you do not want to know, and are none the wiser for knowing. Now he who writes the romance of history takes his choice of all its ample but incongruous material.

He accommodates the show of things to the desires and the needs of the immortal, moral nature. To vary a figure of Milton's, instead of crowding his net, as Time crowds his, with all things precious and vile,— bright gems, seaweed mixed with sand, bones of fishes, – he only dives for and brings up coral and pearl and shells golden-valved and rainbow-colored, murmuring to the ear like an Æolian harp. . . . He tells the truth, to be sure; but he does not tell the whole truth, for that would be sometimes misplaced and discordant. He tells something more than the truth, too, remembering that, though man is not of imagination all compact, he is yet, in part, a creature of imagination, and can be reached and perfected by a law of his nature in part only through the imagination. . . . The Richard of Scott in his general character and principal fortunes, in his chronology and geography, so to speak, is the Richard of history. But the reason you know him better is this: the particular situations in which you see him in "Ivanhoe" and the Crusaders, the conversations he holds, his obstreperous contest of drink and music with the holy clerk in the cell, that more glorious contest with the traitors in the wood, with the Normans in the castle, the scene in his tent in which he was so nearly assassinated, and that in Saladin's tent where he challenged him in all love and honor to do mortal battle for the possession of Jerusalem,— these are all supplied by the imagination of the writer to the imagination of the reader. Probably they all happened just as they are set forth, but you can't exactly prove it out of any book of history. They are all probable: they are exactly consistent with what we do know and can prove. But the record is lost by time and accident. They lie beyond the province of reason; but faith and imagination stretch beyond that province, and complete the shadowy and imperfect revelation. . . .

I do not know that I can better illustrate this difference between the romance and the reality of history, and in some respects the superiority of the former for teaching and impressing mere historical truth, than by going back to the ten years which immediately preceded the battle of Lexington. If idle wishes were not sinful as well as idle, that of all time past is the period in which we might all wish to have lived. Yet how meagre and unsatisfactory is the mere written history of that day! Indeed, there is hardly anything there for history. The tea was thrown overboard, to be sure, and the

"Gaspée" burned; town meetings were held, and committees of correspondence chosen; and touching appeals, of pathos and argument and eloquence unequalled, addressed to the king and people of England in behalf of their oppressed subjects and brethren of America. And when History has told you this, she is silent. You must go to Scott or evoke the still mightier Shakspere or Homer if you would truly know what that day was, what the people of that day were,—if you would share in that strong and wide excitement, see that feeling, not loud but deep, of anger and grief and conscious worth and the sense of violated rights, in that mingled and luxurious emotion of hope and apprehension with which the heart of the whole country throbbed and labored as the heart of a man. And how would Scott reveal to you the spirit of that age? He would place you in the middle of a group of citizens of Boston going home from the Old South, perhaps, or Faneuil Hall, where James Otis or Josiah Quincy or Samuel Adams had been speaking, and let you listen to their conversation. He would take you to their meeting on Sunday when the congregation stood up in prayer, and the venerable pastor adverted to the crisis and asked for strength and guidance from above to meet it. He would remark to you that varied expression which ran instantaneously over the general countenance of the assembly, and show you in that varied expression — the varied fortunes of America — the short sorrow, the long joy, the strife, the triumph, the agony, and the glory. In that congregation you might see in one seat the worn frame of a mother whose husband followed the banners of Wolfe, and fell with him on the Plains of Abraham, shuddering with apprehension lest such a life and such a death await her only son, yet striving, as became a matron of New England, for grace to make even that sacrifice. You might see old men who dragged Sir William Pepperell's cannon along the beach at Louisburg, now only regretting that they had not half so much youthful vigor left to fight their king as they then used up in fighting his enemies. You read in yonder eye of fire the energy and ardor of a statesman like John Adams, seeing clear through that day's business and beholding the bright spot beyond the gloom. You see the blood mount into that cheek of manly beauty, betraying the youthful Warren's dream of fame. But, as the pastor proceeded, and his feelings rose and his voice swelled to its full expression, as he touched on the rights of the colonies and the injustice of the king, as his kindling imagination presented to him the scenes of coming and doubtful conflict, and he prayed that he to whom the shields of the earth belong would gird on his sword and go forth with our hosts on the day of battle, and would open their eyes to behold in every valley and in every plain, as the prophet beheld by the same illumination chariots of fire and horses of fire, you would see then all those minor shades of individual peculiarity pass away from the face of the assembly and one universal and sublime expression of religion and patriotism diffuse itself over all countenances alike, as sunshine upon a late disturbed sea.

Thus somewhat would Scott contrive to give you a perception of that indefinable yet real and operative existence,—the spirit of a strongly agitated age, of the temper and determination of a people in a state of high excitement and fermentation, not yet broken out into overt conduct, of that interval, so full of strange interest, between the acting of a dreadful thing and the first motion. . . .

In leaving this subject, I cannot help suggesting, at the hazard of being thought whimsical, that a literature of such writings as these, embodying the romance of the whole revolutionary and ante-revolutionary history of the United States, might do something to perpetuate the Union itself. . . . Poems and romances which shall be read in every parlor, by every fireside, in every school-house, behind every counter, in every printing-office, in every lawyer's office, at every weekly evening club, in all the States of this Confederacy, must do something, along with more palpable if not more powerful agents, toward moulding and fixing that final, grand, complex result,— the national character. A keen, well-instructed judge of such things said if he might write the ballads of a people he cared little who made its laws. Let me say if a hundred men of genius would extract such a body of romantic literature from our early history as Scott has extracted from the history of England and Scotland, and as Homer extracted from that of Greece, it perhaps would not be so alarming if demagogues should preach, or governors practise, or executives tolerate nullification. Such a literature would be a common property of all the States, a treasure of common ancestral recollections,— more noble and richer than our thousand million acres of public land; and, unlike that land, it would be indivisible. It would be as the opening of a great fountain for the healing of the nations. Reminded of our fathers, we should remember that we are brethren. The exclusiveness of State pride, the narrow selfishness of a mere local policy, and the small jealousies of vulgar minds would be merged in an expanded, comprehensive, constitutional sentiment of old, family, fraternal regard. It would reassemble, as it were, the people of America in one vast congregation. It would rehearse in their hearing all things which God had done for them in the old time; it would proclaim the law once more; and then it would bid them join in that grandest and most affecting solemnity,—a national anthem of thanksgiving for the deliverance, of honor for the dead, of proud prediction for the future.

The tribes of Israel and Judah came up three times a year to the holy and beautiful city, and united in prayer and praise and sacrifice, in listening to that thrilling poetry, in swelling that matchless song, which celebrated the triumphs of their fathers by the Red Sea, at the fords of Jordan, and on the high places of the field of Barak's victory. But we have no feast of the Passover or of the Tabernacles or of the Commemoration. The States of Greece erected temples of the gods by a common contribution, and worshipped in them. They consulted the same oracle, they celebrated the same national festival, mingled their deliberations in the same Amphictyonic and subordinate assemblies, and sat together upon the same benches to hear their glorious history read aloud in the prose of Herodotus, the poetry of Homer and of Pindar. We have built no national temples but the Capitol: we consult no common oracle but the Constitution. We can meet together to celebrate no national festival. But the thousand tongues of the press — clearer far than the silver trumpet of the jubilee, louder than the voice of the herald at the games — may speak and do speak to the whole people without calling them from their homes or interrupting them in their employments. Happy if they should speak and the people should hear those things which pertain at least to their temporal and national salvation.

Rufus Choate's Works are published in two volumes, with a memoir by S. G. Brown included in the first volume, in which, also, are collected the lectures and addresses upon historical and literary themes, the political speeches appearing in the second volume. The selection from Choate's writings published in Warner's Library of the World's Best Literature (vol. vi.) is intelligently made, the biographical sketch which accompanies it being by Albert Stickney. There is an interesting chapter upon Choate in E. P. Whipple's "Recollections." Since Choate wrote the eloquent address reprinted almost entire in the present leaflet, the sense of the opportunities and importance of historical fiction has deepened and widened to a remarkable degree. There is hardly any field of history which the novelist and romancer have not entered during the last half of the century, often with great illuminating power. Our own American history has by no means fared the worst. Historical fiction has its large department in all the large libraries, and by many of these admirable finding-lists and catalogues have been issued. It is sufficient here to refer to the Chronological Index to Historical Fiction, published by the Boston Public Library. History itself has been treated by many master hands in a more glowing, graphic, and picturesque way, fulfilling the demands made by Macaulay in his old essay on History, written in the early part of the century. Green's History of the English People is the most conspicuous illustration of this eloquent and dramatic treatment of history; but in America we also have brilliant illustrations. No student of the history of a people may neglect the study of that people's literature. Greece cannot be understood without a knowledge of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Aristophanes. To know England, we must know Shakespeare and Milton. The actual use of historical subjects by the poets is most important. Many men see English history, and Roman history as well, chiefly through the eyes of Shakespeare; and they might see it through worse eyes. The prominence of American history in American poetry during the nineteenth century is noteworthy. One of the subjects set for the Old South Essays for 1900 is "Longfellow's Use of American Subjects and his Services for American History." When we have named "Hiawatha," the "Courtship of Miles Standish," "Evangeline," and the "New England Tragedies," we have indicated a large portion of the sum total of Longfellow's poetry; and scores of briefer poems touching American history and life remain to be named. The meeting devoted to the memory of Longfellow just after his death in 1882, by the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which he was a member, was noteworthy for the tributes to his distinct and great services for our history; see the Society's *Proceedings*, vol. xix. The poetry of America forms an element as important in the poetry of Whittier and Lowell, and almost as important in the works of our other American poets; while it is to our poets, from Emerson down, that we go for the noblest expressions of our patriotism and the highest calls to a noble national life.

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Kossuth's First Speech in Faneuil Hall.

SPEECH IN FANEUIL HALL, THURSDAY EVENING, APRIL 29, 1852.

Ladies and Gentlemen,— Do me the justice to believe that I rise not with any pretension to eloquence within the Cradle of American Liberty. If I were standing upon the ruins of Prytaneum, and had to speak whence Demosthenes spoke, my tongue would refuse to obey, my words would die away upon my lips, and I would listen to the winds fraught with the dreadful realization of his unheeded prophecies. Spirit of American eloquence, frown not at my boldness that I dare abuse Shakespeare's language in Faneuil Hall! It is a strange fate, and not my choice. My tongue is fraught with a down-trodden nation's wrongs. The justice of my cause is my eloquence; but misfortune may approach the altar whence the flame arose which roused your fathers from degradation to independence. I claim my people's share in the benefit of the laws of nature and of nature's God. I will nothing add to the historical reputation of these walls; but I dare hope not to sully them by appealing to those maxims of truth the promulgation of which made often tremble these walls from the thundering cheers of freemen, roused by the clarion sound of inspired oratory.

"Cradle of American Liberty!" it is a great name; but there is something in it which saddens my heart. You should not say "American liberty." You should say "Liberty in America." Liberty should not be either American or European,— it should be just "liberty." God is God. He is neither America's God nor Europe's God. He is God. So shall liberty be. "American liberty" has much the sound as if you would say "American privilege." And there is the rub. Look to history, and, when your heart saddens at the fact that liberty never yet was lasting in any corner of the world and in any age, you will find the key of it in the gloomy truth that all who yet were free regarded liberty as their privilege instead of regarding it as a principle. The nature of every privilege is exclusiveness; that of a principle is communicative. Liberty is a principle; its community is its security; exclusiveness is its doom.

What is aristocracy? It is exclusive liberty; it is privilege; and aristocracy is doomed, because it is contrary to the destiny and welfare of man. Aristocracy should vanish, not in the nations, but also from amongst the nations. So long as that is not done, liberty will nowhere be lasting on earth. It is equally fatal to individuals as to nations to believe themselves beyond the reach of vicissitudes. To this proud reliance, and the isolation resulting therefrom, more victims have fallen than to oppression by immediate adversities. You have prodigiously grown by your freedom of seventy-five years; but what is seventy-five years to take for a charter of immortality? No, no, my humble tongue tells the records of eternal truth. A privilege never can be lasting. Liberty restricted to one nation never can be sure. You may say, "We are the prophets of God," but you shall not say, "God is only our God." The Jews have said so, and the pride of Jerusalem lies in the dust. Our Saviour taught all humanity to say, "Our Father in heaven"; and his Jerusalem is lasting to the end of days.

"There is a community in mankind's destiny." That was the greeting which I read on the arch of welcome on the Capitol Hill of Massachusetts. I pray to God the republic of America would weigh the eternal truth of those words, and act accordingly. Liberty in America would then be sure to the end of time. But if you say "American liberty," and take that grammar for your policy, I dare say the time will yet come when humanity will have to mourn over a new proof of the ancient truth, that without community national freedom is never sure. You should change "American liberty" into "Liberty," then liberty would be forever sure in America, and that which found a cradle in Faneuil Hall never would find a coffin through all coming days. I like not the word "cradle" connected with the word "liberty." It has a scent of mortality. But these are vain words, I know. Though in the life of nations the spirits of future be marching in present events, visible to every reflecting mind, still those who foretell them are charged with arrogantly claiming the title of prophets, and prophecies are never believed. However, the cradle of American liberty is not only famous from the reputation of having been always the lists of the most powerful eloquence; it is still more conspicuous for having seen that eloquence attended by practical success. To understand the mystery of this rare circumstance, a man must see the people of New England and especially the people of Massachusetts.

In what I have seen of New England there are two things the evidence of which strikes the observer at every step,—prosperity and intelligence. I have seen thousands assembled, following the noble impulses of generous hearts; almost the entire population of every city, of every town, of every village where I passed, gathered around me, throwing the flowers of consolation in my thorny way. I can say I have seen the people here, and I have looked at it with a keen eye, sharpened in the school of a toilsome life. Well, I have seen not a single man bearing mark of that poverty upon himself which in old Europe strikes the eye sadly at every step. I have seen no ragged poor. I have seen not a single house bearing the appearance of desolated poverty. The cheerfulness of a comfortable condition, the result of industry, spreads over the land. One sees at a glance that the people work assiduously,—not with the depressing thought just to get from day to day, by hard toil, through the cares of a miserable life, but they work with the cheerful consciousness of substantial happiness. And the second thing which I could not fail to remark is the stamp of intelligence impressed upon the very eyes and outward appearance of the people at large. I and my companions have seen that people in the factories, in the workshops, in their houses, and in the streets, and could not fail a thousand times to think,—"How intelligent that people looks." It is to such a people that the orators of Faneuil Hall had to speak, and therein is the mystery of their success. They were not wiser than the public spirit of their audience, but they were the eloquent interpreters of the people's enlightened instinct.

No man can force the harp of his own individuality into the people's heart; but every man may play upon the cords of his people's heart, who draws his inspiration from the people's instinct. Well, I thank God for having seen the public spirit of the people of Massachusetts bestowing its attention to the cause I plead, and pronouncing its verdict. After the spontaneous manifestations of public opinion which I have met in Massachusetts, there can be not the slightest doubt that his Excellency, the high-minded Governor of Massachusetts, when he wrote his memorable address to the Legislature, the joint committee of the Legislative Assembly, after a careful and candid consideration of the subject, not only concurring in the views of the executive government, but elucidating them in a report, the irrefutable logic and elevated statesmanship of which will forever endear the name of Hazewell to oppressed nations, and the Senate of Massachusetts adopting the resolutions proposed by the Legislative Committee, in respect to the question of national intervention,— I say the spontaneous manifestation of public opinion leaves not the slightest doubt that all these executive and legislative proceedings not only met the full approbation of the people of Massachusetts, but were, in fact, nothing else but the solemn interpretation of that public opinion of the people of Massachusetts. A spontaneous outburst of popular sentiments tells often more in a single word than all the skill of elaborate eloquence could. I have met that word. "We worship not the man, but we worship the principle," shouted out a man in Worcester, amidst the thundering cheers of a countless multitude. It was a word like those words of flame, spoken in Faneuil Hall, out of which liberty in America was born. That word is a revelation that the spirit of eternal truth and of present exigencies moves through the people's heart. That word is teeming with the destinies of America.

Would to God that, in the leading quarters, small party considerations should never prevent the due appreciation of the people's instinctive sagacity! It is with joyful consolation and heartfelt gratitude I own that of that fear I am forever relieved in respect to Massachusetts. Once more I have met the revelation of the truth that the people of Massachusetts worship principles. I have met it on the front of your capitol, in those words raised to the consolation of the oppressed world, by the constitutional authorities of Massachusetts, to the high heaven, upon an arch of triumph,— "Remember that there is a community in mankind's destiny."

I cannot express the emotion I felt when, standing on the steps of your Capitol, these words above my head, the people of Massachusetts tendered me its hand in the person of its chief magistrate. The emotion which thrilled through my heart was something like that Lazarus must have felt when the Saviour spoke to him, "Rise"; and, when I looked up with a tender tear of heartfelt gratitude in my eyes, I saw the motto of Massachusetts all along the capitol,—"We seek with the sword the mild quietness of liberty." You have proved this motto not to be an empty word. The heroic truth of it is recorded in the annals of Faneuil Hall, it is recorded on Bunker Hill, recorded in the Declaration of Independence. Having read that motto, coupled with the acknowledgment of the principle that there is a community in the destiny of all humanity, I know what answer I have to take to those millions who look with profound anxiety to America.

Gentlemen, the Mahometans say that the city of Bokhara receives not light from without, but is lustrous with its own light. I don't know much about Bokhara; but so much I know, that Boston is the sun whence radiated the light of resistance against oppression. And, from what it has been my good fortune to experience in Boston, I have full reason to believe that the sun which shone forth with such a bright lustre in the days of oppression has not lost its lustre by freedom and prosperity. Boston is the metropolis of Massachusetts, and Massachusetts has given its vote. It has given it after having, with the penetrating sagacity of its intelligence, looked attentively into the subject, and fixed with calm consideration its judgment thereabout. After having had so much to speak, it was with infinite gratification I heard myself addressed in Brookfield, Framingham, and several other places, with these words: "We know your country's history; we agree with your principles; we want no speech; just let us hear your voice, and then go on; we trust and wish you may have other things to do than speak." Thus having neither to tell my country's tale, because it is known, nor having to argue about principles, because they are agreed with, I am in the happy condition of being able to restrain myself to a few desultory remarks about the nature of the difficulties I have to contend with in other quarters, that the people of Massachusetts may see upon what ground those stand who are following a direction contrary to the distinctly pronounced opinion of Massachusetts, in relation to the cause I plead.

Give me leave to mention that, having had an opportunity to converse with leading men of the great political parties which are on the eve of an animated contest for the Presidency,— would it had been possible for me to have come to America either before that contest was engaged or after it will be decided! I came, unhappily, in a bad hour,— I availed myself of that opportunity to be informed about what are considered to be the principal issues in case the one or the other party carries the prize; and, indeed, having got the information thereof, I could not forbear to exclaim, "But, my God, all these questions together cannot outweigh the all-overruling importance of foreign policy!" It is there, in the question of foreign policy, that the heart of the next future throbs. Security and danger, developing prosperity, and its check, peace and war, tranquillity and embarrassment,— yes, life and death will be weighed in the scale of foreign policy! It is evident things are come to the point where they have been in ancient Rome, when old Cato never spoke privately or publicly, about whatever topic, without closing his speech with these words, "However, my opinion is that Carthage must be destroyed,"—thus advertising his countrymen that there was one question outweighing in importance all other questions, from which public attention should never for a moment be withdrawn. Such, in my opinion, is the condition of the world now. Carthage and Rome had no place on earth together. Republican America and all-overwhelming Russian absolutism cannot much longer subsist together on earth. Russia active,— America passive,— there is an immense danger in that fact. It is like the avalanche in the Alps, which the noise of a bird's wing may move and thrust down with irresistible force, growing every moment. I cannot but believe it were highly time to do as old Cato did, and finish every speech with these words, "However, the law of nations should be maintained, and absolutism not permitted to become omnipotent." I could not forbear to make these remarks, and the answer I got was, "That is all true and all right, and will be attended to when the election is over; but, after all, the party must come into power, and you know there are so many considerations,— men want to be managed, and even prejudices spared, and so forth." And it is true, but it is sorrowful that it is true. That reminds me of what, in Schiller's "Maria Stuart," Mortimer says to Lord Leicester, the all-mighty favorite of Elizabeth, "O God, what little steps has such a great lord to go at this court!" There is the first obstacle I have to meet with. This consolation, at least, I have,—that the chief difficulty I have to contend with is neither lasting, nor an argument against the justice of my cause or against the righteousness of my principles. Just as the calumnies by which I am assailed can but harm my own self, but cannot impair the justice of my country's cause or weaken the propriety of my principles, so that difficulty, being just a difficulty and no argument, cannot change the public opinion of the people, which always cares more about principles than about wire-pullings.

The second difficulty I have to contend with is rather curious. Many a man has told me that, if I had only not fallen into the hands of the Abolitionists and Free-soilers, he would have supported me; and, had I landed somewhere in the South instead of New York, I would have met quite different things from that quarter. But, being supported by the Free-soilers, of course I must be opposed by the South. On the other side I received a letter from which I beg leave to quote a few lines: "You are silent on the subject of slavery. Surrounded as you have been by slaveholders ever since you put your foot on English soil, if not during your whole voyage from Constantinople,—and ever since you have been in this country surrounded by them whose threats, promises, and flattery make the stoutest hearts succumb,—your position has put me in mind of a scene described by the apostle of Jesus Christ when the devil took him up into a high mountain," etc. Now, gentlemen, thus being charged from one side with being in the hands of Abolitionists, and from the other side with being in the hands of the slaveholders, I indeed am at a loss what course to take, if these very contradictory charges were not giving me the satisfaction to feel that I stand just where it is my duty to stand, on a truly American ground.

I must beg leave to say a few words in that respect,—the more because I could not escape vehement attacks for not committing myself, even in that respect, with whatever interior party question. I claim the right for my people to regulate its own domestic concerns. I claim this as a law of nations, common to all humanity; and, because common to all, I claim to see them protected by the United States, not only because they have the power to defend what despots dare offend, but also because it is the necessity of their position to be a power on earth, which they would not be if the law of nations can be changed, and the general condition of the world altered, without their vote. Now, that being my position and my cause, it would be the most absurd inconsistency if I would offend that principle which I claim and which I advocate.

And, O my God, have I not enough sorrows and cares to bear on these poor shoulders? Is it not astonishing that the moral power of duties, and the iron will of my heart, sustain yet this shattered frame? that I am desired yet to take up additional cares? If the cause I plead be just, if it be worthy of your sympathy, and at the same time consistent with the impartial considerations of your own moral and material interests, — which a patriot never should disregard, not even out of philanthropy,— then why not weigh that cause with the scale of its own value, and not with a foreign one? Have I not difficulties enough to contend with, that I am desired to increase them yet with my own hands? Father Mathew goes on preaching temperance, and he may be opposed or supported on his own ground; but whoever imagined opposition to him because, at the same time, he takes not into his hands to preach fortitude or charity? And, indeed, to oppose or to abandon the cause I plead only because I mix not with the agitation of an interior question is a greater injustice yet, because to discuss the question of foreign policy I have a right. My nation is an object of that policy. We are interested in it. But to mix with interior party movements I have no right, not being a citizen of the United States.

The third difficulty which I meet, so far as I am told, is the opposition of the commercial interest. I have the agreeable duty to say that this opposition, or, rather, indifference, is only partial. I have met several testimonials of the most generous sympathy from gentlemen of commerce. But if, upon the whole, it should be really true that there is more coolness, or even opposition, in that quarter than in others, then I may say that there is an entire misapprehension of the true commercial interests in it. I could say that it would be strange to see commerce, and chiefly the commerce of a republic, indifferent to the spread of liberal institutions. That would be a sad experience, teeming with incalculable misfortunes, reserved to the nineteenth century. Until now history has recorded that "commerce has been the most powerful locomotive of principles and the most fruitful ally of civilization, intelligence, and of liberty." It was merchants whose names are shining with immortal lustre from the most glorious pages of the golden books of Venice, Genoa, etc. Commerce, republican commerce, raised single cities to the position of mighty powers on earth, and maintained them in that proud position for centuries; and surely it was neither indifference nor opposition to republican principles by which they have thus ennobled the history of commerce and of humanity. I know full well that, since the treasures of commerce took their way into the coffers of despotism, in the shape of eternal loans, and capital began to speculate upon the oppression of nations, a great change has occurred in that respect.

But, thanks to God, the commerce of America is not engaged in that direction, hated by millions, cursed by humanity. Her commerce is still what it was in former times,—the beneficent instrumentality of making mankind partake of all the fruits and comforts of the earth and of human industry. Here it is no paper speculation upon the changes of despotism; and, therefore, if the commercial interests of republican America are considered with that foresighted sagacity, without which there is no future and no security in them, I feel entirely sure that no particular interest can be more ambitious to see absolutism checked and freedom and democratic institutions developed in Europe than the commerce of republican America. It is no question of more or less profit, it is a question of life and death to it. Commerce is the heel of Achilles, the vulnerable point of America. Thither will, thither must be aimed the first blow of victorious absolutism. The instinct of self-preservation would lead absolutism to strike that blow if its hatred and indignation would not lead to it. Air is not more indispensable to life than freedom and constitutional government in Europe to the commerce of America.

Though many things which I have seen have, upon calm reflection, induced me to raise an humble word of warning against materialism, still I believe there was more patriotic solicitude than reality in the fact that Washington and John Adams, at the head of the war department, complained of a predominating materialism (they styled it avarice) which threatened the ruin of America. I believe that complaint would, even to-day, not be more founded than it was in the infant age of your republic. Still, if there be any motive for that complaint of your purest and best patriots,—

if the commerce of America would know, indeed, no better guiding star than only the momentary profit of a cargo just floating over the Atlantic, — I would be even then at a loss how else to account for the indifference of the commerce of America in the cause of European liberty than by assuming that it is believed the present degraded condition of Europe may endure, if only the popular agitations are deprived of material means to disturb that which is satirically called tranquillity.

But such a supposition would, indeed, be the most obnoxious, the most dangerous fallacy. As the old philosopher, being questioned how he could prove the existence of God, answered, "By opening the eyes," just so nothing is necessary but to open the eyes in order that men of the most ordinary common sense become aware of it, that the present condition of Europe is too unnatural, too contrary to the vital interests of the countless millions, to endure even for a short time. A crisis is inevitable. No individual influence can check it; no indifference or opposition can prevent it. Even men like myself, concentrating the expectations and confidence of oppressed millions in themselves, have only just enough power, if provided with the requisite means, to keep the current in a sound direction, so that in its inevitable eruption it may not become dangerous to social order, which is indispensable to the security of person and property, without which especially no commerce has any future at all. And that being the unsophisticated condition of the world, and a crisis being inevitable, I indeed cannot imagine how those who desire nothing but peace and tranquillity can withhold their helping hands, that the inevitable crisis should not only be kept in a sound direction, but also carried down to a happy issue, capable to prevent the world from boiling continually, like a volcano, and insuring a lasting peace and a lasting tranquillity, never possible so long as the great majority of nations are oppressed, but sure so soon as the nations are content; and content they can only be when they are free. Indeed, if reasonable logic has not yet forsaken the world, it is the men of peace, it is the men of commerce, to the support of whom I have a right to look. Others may support my cause out of generosity,— these must support me out of considerate interest; others may oppose me out of egotism,— American commerce, in opposing me, would commit suicide.

Gentlemen, of such narrow nature are the considerations which oppose my cause. Of equally narrow, inconsistent scope are all the rest, with the enumeration of which I will not abuse your kind indulgence. Compare with them the broad basis of lofty principles upon which the Commonwealth of Massachusetts took its stand in bestowing the important benefit of its support to my cause, and you cannot forbear to feel proudly that the spirit of old Massachusetts is still alive, entitled to claim that right in the councils of the united republic which it had in the glorious days when, amid dangers, wavering resolutions, and partial despondency, Massachusetts took boldly the lead to freedom and independence.

Those men of immortal memory, who within these very walls lighted with the heavenly spark of their inspiration the torch of freedom in America, avowed for their object the welfare of mankind; and, when you raised the monument of Bunker Hill, it was the genius of freedom thrilling through the heart of Massachusetts which made one of your distinguished orators say that the days of your ancient glory will continue to rain influence on the destinies of mankind to the end of time. It is upon this inspiration I rely, in the name of my down-trodden country,— to-day the martyr of mankind, to-morrow the battle-field of its destiny. Time draws nigh when either the influence of Americans must be felt throughout the world or the position abandoned to which you rose with gigantic vitality out of the blood of your martyrs. I have seen the genius of those glorious days spreading its fiery wings of inspiration over the people of Massachusetts. I feel the spirit of olden times moving through Faneuil Hall. Let me cut short my stammering words. Let me leave your hearts alone with the inspiration of history. Let me bear with me the heart-strengthening conviction that I have seen Boston still a radiating sun, as it was of yore, but risen so high on mankind's sky as to spread its warning rays of elevated patriotism far over the waves. American patriotism of to-day is philanthropy for the world.

Gentlemen, I trust in God, I trust in the destinies of humanity, and intrust the hopes of oppressed Europe to the consistent energy of Massachusetts.

KOSSUTH'S SPEECH AT CONCORD, MAY 11, 1852.

I am afraid to speak here. I like to listen to the tale the spirits of martyrs tell, and to words like yours, sir [Mr. Emerson],* full of wisdom and philanthropy. The answer I can give will scarcely possess the merit to satisfy the American people. One thing I may assume, and one thing own. Should the Almighty give me prosperity, yet in my life it would not carry me away, not to be frank, not only in adversity, but in duty, which is a good guard as well against ambition in prosperity as in adversity. One thing I may own,—that it is, indeed, true, everything good has yet been in the minority. Still mankind went on, and is going on, to that destiny the Almighty designed, when all good will not be confined to the minority, but will prevail amongst all mankind.

I hail thee, hallowed ground of Concord, thou sacred baptistry, where the people of America first baptized itself to the name of a "nation" with its own and its enemies' blood! I hail thee, Concord, thou John the Baptist of American Independence! "When invaded by oppression, resistance becomes the Christian and social duty of each individual." Thus spoke the leaders of Massachusetts when the spirit of national freedom first moved through this air which I now breathe. It was here that word was bravely redeemed by a people transformed into heroes by the charm of liberty. The leaders swore "never to yield, but, with a proper sense of dependence on God, to defend those rights which Heaven gave, and no one ought to take." It was here that oath first was made good. Be thou blessed forever, hallowed ground of Concord! and, ye spirits of the departed, take up, upon good angelic wings, the prayers of the poor wandering exile, who, on the hallowed ground of Concord, invokes the young spirit of the New World to regenerate the Old!

Gentlemen, remember what had to pass in the Old World that Hungary's exiled chief thus might be standing on Concord's hallowed ground, and that such prayers fall from his lips from such a place. Oh, silence for a while the noble pride of your prosperity, and bow with reverence before the finger of God! He is the God of all humanity. What he did for you he meant to do for humanity. Concord became the preface of liberty in America, that America might become the preface of liberty on earth. That is my faith. I have drawn this faith from the philosophy of your history.

It is strange, indeed, how every incident of the present bears the mark of deeper meaning around me. It is a meaning in the very fact that it is you, sir, by whom the representative of Hungary's ill-fated struggle is so generously welcomed, in the name of Concord, to the shrine of martyrs illumined by victory. You are wont to dive into the mysteries of truth, and disclose mysteries of right to the eyes of men.

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* The address of welcome at Concord had been made by Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Your honored name is Emerson: and Emerson was the name of the man who, a minister of the gospel, turned out with his people on the 19th of April of eternal memory, when the alarm-bell first was rung. The words of an Emerson administered counsel and the comfort of religion to the distressed then, and the words of an Emerson now speak the comfort of philosophy to the cause of oppressed liberty. I take hold of that augury, sir. Religion and philosophy, you blessed twins, upon you I rely with my hopes to America. Religion, the philosophy of the heart, will make the Americans generous: and philosophy, the religion of the mind, will make the Americans wise; and all that I claim is a generous wisdom and a wise generosity.

Gentlemen, it would be evidently a mistake to believe that the Revolution of America was the accidental result of circumstances which England could have prevented. No, gentlemen, England could not have retained possession of this country, except only by transforming herself into a republic, or, at least, into a democratic monarchy. That would have been the only means to prevent the separation. Those acts of the British Parliament, which virtually repealed the charter of Massachusetts, those acts were, indeed, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannical. They would have, in every other portion of the world, justified a revolution; but here, in your country, those arbitrary acts of the government have been but an opportunity to assert with arms that national independence which, also, without that opportunity would have been asserted,—perhaps in a different way,—but would have been asserted, certainly, because it was a necessity,—not only a necessity with your own country, gentlemen, but a logical necessity in the progress of mankind's history. The arbitrary acts of the British government were a crime; but not to have understood that necessity, and not to have yielded to it by amicable arrangement without sacrifices, that was a fault.

In my opinion, there is not a single fact in history which would have been so distinctly marked to be providential, with reference to all humanity, as the colonization, revolution, and republicanism of the now United States of America. This immense continent being discovered and brought within the scope of European civilization, peopled with elements of that civilization, could not remain a mere appendix to Europe. That is evident. But this America, being connected as it is with Europe by a thousand social, moral, and material ties,—by the ties of blood, religion, language, science, civilization, and commerce,—to me it is equally evident that to believe that this so connected America can rest isolated in politics from Europe, that would be just such a fault as that was that England did not believe in time the necessity of America's independence.

Yes, gentlemen, this is so much true,—that I would pledge life, honor, and everything dear to man's heart and honorable to man's memory that either America must take its becoming part in the political regeneration of Europe or she herself must yield to the pernicious influence of European politics. There was never yet a more fatal mistake than it would be to believe that, by not caring about the political condition of Europe, America may remain unaffected by the condition of Europe. I could, perhaps, understand such an opinion if you would or could be entirely and in every respect isolated from Europe; but, as you are not isolated, as you cannot be, as you cannot even have the will to be isolated, because that very will would be a paradox, a logical absurdity, impossible to be carried out, being contrary to the eternal laws of God, which he for nobody's sake will change, therefore to believe that you can go on to be connected with Europe in a thousand respects and still remain unaffected by its social and political condition would be, indeed, a fatal aberration. You stretch your gigantic hands a thousand-fold every day over the waves. Your relations with Europe are not only commercial, as with Asia: they are also social, moral, spiritual, intellectual. You take Europe every day by the hand: how, then, could you believe that, if that hand of Europe, which you grasp every day, remains dirty, you can escape from seeing your own hands soiled? The more clean your hands are, the more will the filth of old Europe stick to them. There is no possible means to escape from being soiled, than to help us Europeans to wash the hands of our Old World. You have heard of the ostrich that, when persecuted by an enemy, it is wont to hide its head, leaving its body exposed. It believes that, by not regarding it, it will not be seen by the enemy. That curious aberration is worthy of reflection. It is typical. Yes, gentlemen, either America will regenerate the condition of the Old World or it will be degenerated by the condition of the Old World.

Sir, I implore you [Mr. Emerson] give me the aid of your philosophical analysis, to impress the conviction upon the public mind of your nation that the Revolution, to which Concord was the preface, is full of a higher destiny,—of a destiny broad as the world, broad as humanity itself. Let me entreat you to apply the analytic powers of your penetrating intellect to disclose the character of the American Revolution, as you disclose the character of self-reliance, of spiritual laws, of intellect, of nature, or of politics. Lend the authority of your judgment to the truth that the destiny of the American Revolution is not yet fulfilled; that the task is not yet completed; that to stop half-way is worse than would have been not to stir. Repeat those words of deep meaning which once you wrote about the monsters that look backward, and about the walking with reverted eye, while the voice of the Almighty says, "Up and onward forevermore," and while the instinct of your people, which never fails to be right, answered the call of destiny by taking for its motto the word "Ahead."

Indeed, gentlemen, the monuments you raised to the heroic martyrs who fertilized with their heart's blood the soil of liberty,— these monuments are a fair tribute of well-deserved gratitude, gratifying to the spirits who are hovering around us, and honorable to you. Woe to the people which neglected to honor its great and good men! but believe me, gentlemen, those blest spirits would look down with saddened brows to this free and happy land if ever they were doomed to see that the happy inheritors of their martyrdom had the pretension to believe that the destiny to which that sacred martyr blood was sacrificed is accomplished, and its price fully paid, in the already achieved results, because the living generation dwells comfortably and makes two dollars out of one.

No, gentlemen, the stars on the sky have a higher aim than that to illumine the night-path of some lonely wanderer. The course your nation is called to run is not yet half performed. Mind the fable of Atalanta,—it was a golden apple thrown into her way which made her fall short in her race.

Two things I have met here, in these free and mighty United States, which I am at a loss how to make concord. The two things I cannot concord are: first, that all your historians, all your statesmen, all your distinguished orators, who wrote or spoke, characterize it as an era in mankind's destiny designed to change the condition of the world, upon which it will rain an ever-flowing influence. And, secondly, in contradiction to this universally adopted consideration, I have met in many quarters a propensity to believe that it is conservative wisdom not to take any active part in the regulation of the condition of the outward world. These two things do not concord. If that be the destiny of America which you all believe to be, then, indeed, that destiny can never be fulfilled by acting the part of passive spectators and by this very passivity granting a charter to ambitious czars to dispose of the condition of the world. I have met distinguished men trusting so much to the operative power of your institutions and of your example that they really believe they will make their way throughout the world merely by their moral influence. But there is one thing those gentlemen have disregarded in their philanthropic reliance, and that is that the ray of sun never yet made its way, by itself, through well-closed shutters and doors. They must be drawn open, that the blessed rays of the sun may get in. I have never yet heard of a despot who had yielded to the moral influence of liberty. The ground of Concord itself is an evidence of it. The doors and shutters of oppression must be opened by bayonets, that the blessed rays of your institutions may penetrate into the dark dwelling-house of oppressed humanity. . . .

I am an exile of the Old World, fraught with the hopes and expectations of oppressed millions. I may be excused for looking anxiously into the mysteries of your national existence if I could not find out there a flower of consolation to my poor native land, well deserving a better fate. But let me forsake that elevated position, and step down lower to the standing-place of your own national interests, of your own American policy. Even thus, I hope nobody will contradict me, that in the life of a nation there are different periods equally necessary, of equally vital importance, if that nation desires to live. And it is but necessary to open their eyes, and to look to the condition of your glorious land, to become aware that now there is such a necessity for your future to be a power on earth, as it was necessary in 1775 to make a revolution, and to become independent and free. And I must say it, even at the risk of offending your national pride, that you are not yet a power on earth; and you will be no power on earth so long as you permit other powers to dispose of the laws of nations, and of the common interests of all humanity. And by not becoming a power on earth, when it is a necessity to do so, you lose, you must lose the glorious position you hold, because, as you well may see, the other powers of the earth dispose of the world's condition in a direction antagonistical to your interests,—in a direction in which your principles lose ground on earth instead of gaining ground, as you should.

There are men who believe the position of a power on earth will come to you by itself; but oh, do not trust to this fallacy! A position never comes by itself: it must be taken, and taken it never will be by passivity. The martyrs who have hallowed by their blood the ground of Concord trusted themselves, and occupied the place Divine Providence assigned them. Sir, the words are yours which I quote. You have told your people that they are now men, and must accept, in the highest mind, the same destiny,—that they are not minors and invalids in a protected corner, but guides, redeemers, and benefactors, advancing on chaos and on the dark. I pray God to give your people the sentiment of the truth you have taught. Your people, fond of its prosperity, loves peace. Well, who would not love peace? But allow me again, sir, to repeat, with all possible emphasis, the great words you spoke: "Nothing can bring you peace but a triumph of principles."

The people of America's instinct is with my prayers. It is with me once more your words, sir: "What your heart thinks great is great." The soul's emphasis is always right. To this I will trust; and, reminding you of the fact that in the soil of Concord the ashes of your martyrs are mingled in concord with the ashes of your enemies, and out of both liberty has grown, I say let this be an augury. Let the future be regulated, not by long past disinclinations, but by present necessities; not by anticipations of olden times, but by sympathies congenial to the present times; and let the word "Concord" be an augury to that fraternity amongst nations which will make the world free, and your nation the first and the greatest among the free.

KOSSUTH'S SPEECH AT PLYMOUTH, MAY 12, 1852.

. . . I am not here, gentlemen, to retell the Pilgrim Fathers' tale. I have to learn about it from your particulars, which historians neglect, but the people's heart by pious tradition likes to conserve. Neither am I here to tell how happy you are. That you feel. Pointed by that sentiment which instinctively rises in the heart of happy good men at the view of foreign misfortune, you invited me to this sacred spot, desiring to pour in my sad heart the consoling inspiration flowing from this place, and to strengthen me in the trust to God. I thank you for it. It does good to my heart. The very air which I here respire, though to me sad, because fresh with the sorrows of Europe and with the woes of my native land, that very air is a balm to the bleeding wounds of my soul. It relieves like as the tears relieve the oppressed heart. But this spot is a book of history. A book not written by man, but by the Almighty himself,— a leaf out of the records of destiny sent to earth and illumined by the light of heavenly intellect, that men and nations, reading in that book of life the bountiful intentions of the Almighty God, may learn the duties they are expected to fulfil, and cannot neglect to fulfil without offending those intentions with which the Almighty Ruler of human destinies has worked the wonders of which Plymouth Rock is the cradle-place. I feel like Moses, when he stood on Mount Nebo, in the mountains of Abarem, looking over the billows. I see afar the Canaan of mankind's liberty. I would the people of your great republic would look to Plymouth Rock as to a new Sinai, where the Almighty legislator revealed what he expects your nation to do and not do unto her neighbors, by revealing to her free America's destiny.

Who would have thought, gentlemen, that the modest vessel which two hundred and thirty-two years ago landed the handful of Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock was fraught with the palladium of liberty and with the elements of a power destined to regenerate the world? Oppression drove them from their ancient European home to the wilderness of an unknown world. The "Mayflower" developed into a wonderful tree of liberty. Where the wilderness stood, there now a mighty Christian nation stands, unequalled in general intelligence and in general prosperity, a glorious evidence of mankind's capacity to self-government; and ye, happy sons of those Pilgrim Fathers, it became your glorious destiny to send back an enchanted twig from your tree of freedom to the Old World, thus requiting the oppression which drove away your forefathers from it. Is the time come for it? Yes, it is. That which is a benefit to the world is a condition of your own security. . . .

What is it I claim from you, people of America,— ye powerful swarm from the beehive Europe, ye sons of the Pilgrims,— those

Christian Deucalions who peopled this New World, and founded a nation in seeking but the asylum of a new home? What is it I claim from you, people of America? Is it that you should send over yonder Atlantic a fleet of new "Mayflowers," manned with thousands of Miles Standishes? . . . Is it that which I claim, in the name of mankind's great family, of which you are a mighty, full-grown son? No, I claim not this. Do I claim from you to send over your sons to Hungary's border mountains to make a living fence by their breasts, catching up the blasting wind of Russia that it may not fall upon the poor, leaf-torn shrub of Hungary? No, I claim not this. Or do I claim from you to beat back the bloody hand of the Austrian, that he may not waste the tempest-torn shrub, and not drain the life-sweat of its nursing soil? No, I do not claim that.

What is it, then, I claim from America? That same violence which shattered Hungary's bush has loosened, has bent, has nearly broken the pole called law of nations, without which no right is safe and no nation sure,— none, were it even ten times so mighty as yours. I claim from America that it should fasten and make firm that pole called "law of nations," that we may with the nerve-strings of our own stout hearts bind to it our nation's shattered shrub. That is what I claim. And I ask you, in the name of the Almighty, is it too pretentious, is it too much arrogance to claim so much?

"In the law of nations every nation is just so much interested as every citizen in the laws of his country." That is a wise word. It is the word of Mr. Webster, who, I am sure of it, in the high position he holds, intrusted with your country's foreign policy, would readily make good his own word if only his sovereign, the nation, be decided to back it, and says to him, "Go on." . . .

To whom shall the oppressed turn for the protection of law and of right if not to those who have the power to protect that law and that right upon which their own power, their own existence, rests? Turn to God and trust to him, you say. Well, that we do. The Lord is our chief trust; but, precisely because we trust to God, we look around with confidence for the instrumentality of this protection. And who shall be that instrumentality if not you, people of America, for whom God has worked an evident wonder out, and upon this very place where I stand?

We may well praise the dignity of Carver and Bradford, the bravery of Standish, the devotion of Brewster, the enterprising spirit of Allerton, the unexampled fortitude and resignation of their women, the patience of their boys, the firmness, thoughtfulness, religious faith and confident boldness of all the Pilgrims of the "Mayflower." We may well praise that all, no praise is too high and none undeserved; but, after all, we must confess that the wonderful results of their pilgrimage,— the nation which we see here,— that is not their merit, as it could never have been the anticipation of their thoughts. No, that is no human merit: that is an evident miracle,— the work of God.

What have they been, those Pilgrims of those days? What was their resolution, their aim, their design? Let me answer in the eloquent words of Mr. Webster's last centennial address: "They have been the personification of humble and peaceable religion flying from causeless oppression, conscience attempting to escape from arbitrary rule, braving a thousand dangers to find here — what? A place of refuge and of rest." And what is it they have founded here? A mighty nation, of twenty-four millions, in the short period of two hundred and thirty-two years. Well, that has never entered the thoughts of the boldest of them.

The Revolution of 1775 was no miracle. It was a necessity,— an indication of your people's having come to the lawful age of a nation. Your assuming now the position of a power on earth, as I hope you will, that will again be no miracle. It would be wisdom but the wisdom of doing what is good to humanity and necessary to yourselves. But, the United States of America,— a result of the Pilgrim Fathers' landing on Plymouth's Rock,— that is no wisdom, no necessity: it is an evident miracle, a work of God. And believe me, gentlemen, the Almighty God never deviates from the common laws of eternity for particular purposes. He never makes a miracle but for the benefit of all the world. By that truth the destiny of America is appointed out, and every destiny implies a duty to fulfil. Happy the people which has the wisdom of its destiny and the resolution of its duties resulting therefrom. But woe to the people which takes not the place which Providence does appoint to it! With the intentions of Providence, and with the decrees of the Almighty, no man can dare to play. Self-reliance is a manly virtue, and no nation has a future which has not that virtue. But to believe that seventy-five years of prodigious growth dispense of every danger and of every care, that would be the surest way to provoke danger and to have much to care. You will judge by this, gentlemen, if it was too much boldness on my part to believe that it is your country's destiny to regenerate the world by maintaining the laws of nations, or too much boldness to claim that which I believe is your destiny. . . .

The visit of Kossuth to the United States, to plead for our interest in the cause of the independence of Hungary, in 1851–52, and the popular demonstration attending it, constitute perhaps the most impressive chapter in the history of the sympathy of our people for other peoples struggling for freedom. The advent of the American republic in history was as the morning star to lovers of liberty and democracy in Europe and throughout the world. It has been our greatest glory through the century that the workers for freedom and political progress everywhere have looked to us, and that our sympathy and help have gone out to them. We were the friends of Bolivar and the young South American republics; and the history of the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine will be remembered (see Old South Leaflet, No. 56, on "The Monroe Doctrine"). The speeches of Webster, Clay, and others in behalf of the Greeks, at the time of their uprising against the Turks in 1824, should be read. Our sympathy went out to Garibaldi and Mazzini, as again and again to the republicans of France and of Germany, so many of whom, when fortunes were adverse, have found their homes among us. Our sympathy for the oppressed people of Cuba led ultimately to armed interference in their behalf. American influences have been second to no other in the political new birth of Japan; and the reformers in Servia and Bulgaria drew their inspiration largely from Robert College.

Kossuth arrived in America in December, 1851. He came as the guest of the nation. The President and Congress had officially declared their sympathy; and the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, replying shortly before to the Austrian minister's remonstrances against our expressions of interest in the Hungarian cause, had firmly declared that no spectacle could ever enlist the sympathies of the American people more deeply than that of a nation struggling to maintain or gain its independence. Kossuth's reception in New York was something unparalleled in its enthusiasm, and this enthusiasm continued everywhere until his departure. His speech before the Corporation of New York, December 11, was perhaps the ablest and most comprehensive which he delivered, appealing to the utterances of Washington and the fathers as justification for the republic's active interest in the cause of freedom and self-government in all the world. This speech, together with the speeches in Philadelphia, Washington, etc., is printed in the appendix to Headley's Life of Kossuth. From Washington, Kossuth went to the West and the South; and in April, 1852, he came to New England, speaking to enormous crowds in Boston, New Haven, Springfield, Worcester, Lowell, and a score of places. There is a special volume, "Kossuth in New England," devoted to this visit, including the various addresses. Governor George S. Boutwell welcomed Kossuth to the State of Massachusetts, President Henry Wilson to the Senate, and Speaker N. P. Banks to the House of Representatives; and their speeches, as well as Kossuth's replies, should be read, as expressing the sentiment of the time. Kossuth made three speeches in Faneuil Hall, the first at a public meeting on the evening of April 29, the second at a legislative banquet on the following evening, the third on May 14. The first of these speeches is that here reprinted, together with the speeches at Concord and (in part) Plymouth. See Charles Sumner's speech, "Welcome to Kossuth" (Sumner's Works, iii. 3). This was Sumner's first speech in the Senate, Dec. 10, 1851. See also Sumner's letter on "Sympathy with the Rights of Men Everywhere" (Works, ii. 444).

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King Alfred's Description of Europe.

THE FIRST CHAPTER OF KING ALFRED'S TRANSLATION OF OROSIUS, WITH HIS ORIGINAL INSERTIONS.

1. Our elders, said Orosius, divided into three parts all the globe of this mid-earth, as it is surrounded by the ocean, which we call Garsecg;* and they named the three parts by three names,— Asia and Europe and Africa; though some said there were but two parts, one Asia and the other Europe.

2. ASIA is encompassed by the ocean — the garsecg — on the south, north, and east; and so, on the east part, contains one half of this mid-earth. Then on the north part of Asia, on the right hand,† in the river Don, there the boundaries of Asia and Europe lie together; and from the same river Don, south along the Mediterranean Sea, towards the west of the city Alexandria, Asia and Africa lie together.

3. EUROPE begins, as I said before, at the river Don, which runs from the north part of the Rhipæan Mountains, which are near the ocean, called Sarmatian. The river Don runs thence right south, on the west side of Alexander's altars to the nation of the Roxolani. It forms the fen which is called Mæotis [Sea of Azov]; and then runs forth, with a great flood, near the city called Theodosia [Kaffa], flowing eastward into the Black Sea; and then, in a long strait, south-easterly, where the Greek city Constantinople lies, and thence out into the Mediterranean Sea. The south-west boundary of Europe is the ocean, on the west

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* Mr. Hampson suggests that the myth of an armed man,—a spear-man,—being employed by the Anglo-Saxons as a term to denote the Ocean, has some analogy to the personification of Neptune holding his trident.

† In tracing the frontier of Asia from north to south, the Don is on the right hand.

of Spain, and chiefly at the island Cadiz, where the Mediterranean Sea shoots up from the ocean; where, also, the pillars of Hercules stand. On the west end of the same Mediterranean Sea is Scotland [Ireland].*

4. The division between AFRICA and Asia begins at Alexandria, a city of Egypt; and the boundary lies thence south, by the river Nile, and so over the desert of Ethiopia to the southern ocean. The north-west limit of Africa is the Mediterranean Sea, which shoots from the ocean, where the pillars of Hercules stand; and its end, right west, is the mountain which is named Atlas, and the island called Canary.

5. I have already spoken shortly about the three parts of this mid-earth; but I will now, as I promised before, tell the boundaries of these three regions, how they are separated by water.

6. Over against the middle of Asia, at the east end, there the mouth of the river called Ganges opens into the ocean, which they call the Indian Ocean. South from the river's mouth, by the ocean, is the port they call Calymere. To the south-east of the port is the island of Ceylon; and then to the north of the mouth of the Ganges, where Mount Caucasus ends, near the ocean, there is the port Samera.† To the north of the port is the mouth of the river, named Ottorogorre. They call the ocean Chinese.

7. These are the boundaries of India, where Mount Caucasus is on the north, and the river Indus on the west, and the Red Sea ‡ on the south, and the ocean on the east. In the district of India are forty-four nations; and, besides many other

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*This last sentence is an addition by Alfred. In early times, Ireland was called Scotland. In paragraph 28, Alfred says, "Ireland we call Scotland." Ireland was exclusively called Scotia or Scotland from the fifth to the tenth or eleventh century. The first we hear of the Scoti, or Scots, is as a people inhabiting Ireland. In the fifth century they contended with the Hiberni, the earlier inhabitants, and soon gained supreme power, and gave their name to the country. About A.D. 503 a colony of these Scoti, having given their name to Ireland, emigrated to North Britain, gained influence there, and also imposed their name on that country. But Ireland is north of Spain. Ancient geographers placed Ireland much more to the south; and Alfred, being guided by them, speaks of it as being on the west of Spain. Orosius erroneously says, Hibernia insula, inter Britanniam et Hispaniam sita. Correct information was not supplied till after the time of Alfred. Though, in most cases, he was in advance of his age, yet in regard to the position of Ireland he appears to have fallen into the error of the time.

† The modern names of places are given in the translation, except where the old name is almost as familiar as the modern designation. When the position or present name cannot be discovered, there is no alternative but to retain the word used in the Anglo-Saxon text.

‡ The Red Sea, in ancient geography, comprehended not only the present Red Sea, but what we now call the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. Thus the Tigris, as well as the Indus, are said to run into the Red Sea; and the whole country between the Indus and the Tigris is described as having the Red Sea for its southern boundary.

inhabited islands, the island of Ceylon, which has in it ten towns. The river Indus lies to the west of the district; between the river Indus and that which lies to the west of it called Tigris, both of which flow south into the Red Sea,— between these two rivers are these countries,— Arachosia [Candahor] and Parthia and Assyria and Persia and Media, though writers often name all these countries Media or Assyria; and they are very mountainous, and there are very sharp and stony ways. The northern boundaries of these countries are the Caucasian Mountains, and on the south side the Red Sea. In these countries are two great rivers, Hydaspes [Jhylum] and Arabis [Pooralee]. In this district are thirty-two nations: now it is all called Parthia.

8. Then west from the river Tigris to the river Euphrates, between the rivers, are these countries,— Babylonia and Chaldea and Mesopotamia. Within these countries are twenty-eight nations. Their northern boundaries are the mountains Taurus and Caucasus, and their southern boundaries lie to the Red Sea. Along the Red Sea — the part that shoots to the north — lies the country of Arabia and Saba [Saade], and Eudomane. From the river Euphrates, west to the Mediterranean and north almost to the mountains which are called Taurus, to the country which they call Armenia, and again south to Egypt, there are many nations in these districts; that is, Comagena and Phœnicia and Damascus and Coelle and Moab and Ammon and Idumea and Judea and Palestine and Saracene; though it is all called Syria. Then to the north of Syria are the mountains, called Taurus; and to the north of the mountains are the countries of Cappadocia and Armenia. Armenia is to the east of Cappadocia. To the west of Cappadocia is the country called Asia the Less. To the north of Cappadocia is the plain of Themiscyra. Then between Cappadocia and Asia the Less is the country of Cilicia and Isauria. This Asia is, on every side, surrounded with salt water, except on the east. On the north side is the Black Sea; and on the west the sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles; and the Mediterranean Sea on the south. In the same Asia the highest mountain is Olympus.

9. To the north of the nearer Egypt is the country of Palestine, and to the east of it the district of the Saracens, and to the west the country of Libya, and to the south the mountain called Climax. The spring of the river Nile is near the

cliff of the Red Sea; though some say that its spring is in the west end of Africa, near the mountain Atlas, and then, soon running on sand to the east, it sinks into the sand. Nigh there, it flows up again from the sand, and there forms a great sea. Where it first springs up, the men of the country call it Nuchul, and some Dara. Then, from the sea, where it shoots up from the sand, it runs easterly through the desert of Ethiopia, and there it is called Ion, as far as the east part; and there it becomes a great sea. It then sinks again into the earth; and, north of that, afterwards springs up, near the cliff by the Red Sea, which I formerly mentioned. Then, from this source, the water is called the river Nile. Running thence onward to the west, it separates into two, about an island which is called Meroe; and thence, bending northward, flows out into the Mediterranean Sea. In the winter time the river at the mouth is so driven back by the northern winds that it flows over all the land of Egypt; and by this flooding very thick crops are produced in the land of Egypt. The farther Egypt lies east along the Red Sea, on the south side. On the east and south parts of the country lies the ocean; and on its west side is the nearer Egypt. In the two Egypts are twenty-four nations.

10. We have already written about the south part of Asia; now we will take the north part of it,—that is from the mountains called Caucasus, of which we have before spoken, and which are to the north of India. They begin first on the east from the ocean, and then lie right west to the mountains of Armenia, which the people of the country call Parachoathras. There, from the south of these mountains, springs the river Euphrates; and from the mountains called Parachoathras extend the mountains of Taurus right west, to the country of the Cilicians. Then * to the north of the mountains, along the ocean to the north-east of this mid-earth, there the river Bore shoots out into the ocean; and thence westerly along the ocean to the Caspian Sea, which there shoots up to the mountains of Caucasus. That district they call Old Scythia and Hyrcania. In this district are forty-three nations widely settled, because of the barrenness of the country. Then, from the west of the

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* This is a description of the north and east of Asia, or rather, as Orosius states, "ab oriente ad septentrionem." Alfred has so much abridged this description, and included so large a space, in few words, that it is not easy, from the Anglo-Saxon text alone, to ascertain the locality of the places which he mentions. The original Latin of Orosius is more full and satisfactory.

Caspian Sea unto the river Don, and to the fen called Mæotis [Sea of Azov], and then south to the Mediterranean Sea and to Mount Taurus, and north to the ocean is all the country of Scythia within; though it is separated into thirty-two nations. But the countries, that are near, on the east side of the Don are named Albani in Latin, and we now call them Liobene. We have thus spoken shortly about the boundaries of Asia.

11. Now we will speak, as much as we know, about the boundaries of EUROPE. *From the river Don westward to the river Rhine* (which springs from the Alps, and then runs right north into the arm of the ocean that lies around the country called Britain); *and again south to the river Danube* (whose spring is near the river Rhine, and which afterwards runs east, by the country north of Greece, into the Mediterranean * Sea); *and north* † *to the ocean which is called the White Sea:* ‡ within these are many nations, but they call it all Germania.

12. Then to the north, from the spring of the Danube, and to the east of the Rhine are the East Franks; and to the south of them are the Suabians, on the other side of the river Danube. To the south and to the east are the Bavarians, that part which is called Ratisbon. Right to the east of them are the Bohemians; and north-east are the Thuringians. To the north of them are the Old Saxons,§ and to the north-west of them are the Friesians. To the west of the Old Saxons is the mouth of the river Elbe and Friesland. From thence north-west is the country called Anglen,‖ and Zealand ¶ and some part of Den-

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* Into what is now called the Black Sea, which Alfred considered a part of the Mediterranean. Snorre calls it a gulf of the Mediterranean in the first chapter of his Heimskringla. In other places, Alfred mentions the Black Sea under the name Euxinus.

† From this place to the end of § 23, Alfred leaves Orosius, and gives the best information that he could collect. It is the king's own account of Europe in his time. It is not only interesting, as the composition of Alfred, but invaluable as an historical document, being the only authentic record of the Germanic nations, written by a contemporary, so early as the ninth century.

‡ The Cwen-saé of Alfred. The plain detail which Ohthere gave to King Alfred [§ 13] can scarcely be read by any unprejudiced person without coming to the conclusion that Ohthere sailed from Halgoland, on the coast of Norway, into the White Sea. See § 13. The Germania of Alfred, therefore, extended from the Don on the east to the Rhine and the German Ocean on the west; and from the Danube on the south to the White Sea on the north.

§ A. S. Eald-Seaxe, and Eald-Seaxan, THE OLD SAXONS, inhabiting the country between the Eyder and the Weser, the parent stock of the Anglo or English-Saxons, and therefore of great importance in the mind of Alfred; for he speaks of other countries, as they are located in regard to the Old Saxons. They were a very warlike and powerful people, who once occupied the whole north-west corner of Germany.

‖ Anglen, the country between Flensburg and the Schley, whence the Angles came to Britain.

¶ In A. S. Sillende ZEALAND, or SEELAND, in Danish Sjalland, the largest island in the Danish monarchy, on the eastern shores of which Copenhagen is built.

mark. To the north are the Afdrede, and north-east the Wylte, who are called Hæfeldan. To the east of them is the country of the Wends, who are called Sysyle; and south-east, at some distance, the Moravians. These Moravians have, to the west of them, the Thuringians, and Bohemians, and part of the Bavarians. To the south of them, on the other side of the river Danube, is the country Carinthia, [lying] south to the mountains called the Alps. To the same mountains extend the boundaries of the Bavarians and of the Suabians; and then, to the east of the country Carinthia, beyond the desert, is the country of the Bulgarians; and, to the east of them, the country of the Greeks. To the east of the country Moravia is the country of the Wisle; and to the east of them are the Dacians, who were formerly Goths. To the north-east of the Moravians are the Dalamensan, and to the east of the Dalamensan are the Horithi, and to the east of the Dalamensan are the Surpe, and to the west of them are the Sysele. To the north of the Horiti is Mægtha-land, and north of Mægtha-land are the Sermende even to the Rhipæan Mountains. To the west of the South-Danes is the arm of the ocean, which lies around the country of Britain; and to the north of them is the arm of the sea called the Baltic; and to the east and to the north of them are the North-Danes, both on the continent and on the islands: to the east of them are the Afdrede; and to the south of them is the mouth of the river Elbe, with some part of the Old Saxons. The North-Danes have to the north of them the same arm of the sea called the Baltic; to the east of them are the Esthonian population; and the Afdræde to the south. The Esthonians have, to the north of them, the same arm of the sea, and also the Wends and Burgundians; and to the south are the Hæfeldan. The Burgundians have the same arm of the sea to the west of them, and the Swedes to the north: to the east of them are the Sermende, and to the south the Surfe. The Swedes have, to the south of them, the Esthonian arm of the sea; and to the east of them the Sermende; to the north, over the wastes, is Cwén-land, and to the north-west are the Scride-Finns, and to the west the Northmen.

13. Ohthere * told his lord, King Alfred, that he dwelt north-

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* Ohthere was a Norwegian nobleman of great wealth and influence, anxious to state nothing but that to which he could bear personal testimony. It appears impossible for any one to read this simple narrative without being convinced that this daring Northman is giving

most of all Northmen. He said that he dwelt northward, on the land by the west sea. He said, however, that the land is very long thence to the north; but it is all waste [desert], save that in a few places, here and there, Finns reside,—for hunting in winter, and in summer for fishing in the sea. He said that at a certain time he wished to find out how far the land lay right north; or whether any man dwelt to the north of the waste. Then he went right north near the land; he left, all the way, the waste land on the right, and the wide sea on the left, for three days. Then was he as far north as Whale-hunters ever go. He then went yet right north, as far as he could sail in the next three days. Then the land bent there right east, or the sea in on the land, he knew not whether; but he knew that he there waited for a western wind, or a little to the north, and sailed thence east near the land, as far as he could sail in four days. Then he must wait there for a right north wind, because the land bent there right south, or the sea in on the land, he knew not whether. Then sailed he thence right south, near the land, as far as he could sail in five days. There lay then a great river up into the land; they turned up into the river, because they durst not sail beyond it, on account of hostility, for the land was all inhabited on the other side of the river. He had not before met with any inhabited land since he came from his own home, but the land was uninhabited all the way on his right, save by fishermen, fowlers, and hunters, and they were all Finns; and there was always a wide sea on his left. The Biarmians had very well peopled their land, but they durst not come upon it: the land of the Terfinns was all waste, save where hunters, fishers, or fowlers encamped.

14. The Biarmians told him many stories both about their

a detail of his voyage on the west and on the north coast of Norway, into the White Sea. Iceland had already been discovered by Gardar, the Dane, in A.D. 860, and it was colonized by Ingolf, a Norwegian, in 874. Greenland was discovered in 877 and inhabited by Northmen soon after. Accustomed as these Northmen were to the most daring enterprises, it was not likely that Ohthere, one of the most powerful, adventurous, bold, and inquiring of them, should come to the renowned king of England to relate the events of a common voyage. Ohthere had made discoveries, which he communicated to the king; and Alfred thought them of such importance that he wrote and inserted this detail of them in his Geographical and Historical view of Europe. It has always been considered an extraordinary voyage. On its first publication by Hakluyt, in 1598, it was acknowledged, as every unpredjudiced reader must now allow, that Ohthere doubled the north cape, and entered the White Sea. "The voiage of Octher made to the north-east parts beyond Norway, reported by himselfe vnto Alfred, the famous king of England, about the yere 890." Hakluyt's Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques, and Discoueries of the English Nation, &c., page 5, Fol. 2nd Edn. London, 1598. Again, a little below, Hakluyt says: "Wil it not, in all posteritie, be as great renowne vnto our English Nation to haue bene the first discouerers of a sea beyond the North Cape [neuer certainly knowen before] and of a conuenient passage into the huge Empire of Russia by the bay S. Nicolas and the riuer of Duina?" &c. Id. p. 5.

own country and about the countries which were around them; but he knew not what was true, because he did not see it himself. The Finns and the Biarmians, as it seemed to him, spoke nearly the same language. He chiefly went thither, in addition to the seeing of the country, on account of the horse-whales [walruses], because they have very good bone in their teeth; of these teeth they brought some to the king; and their hides are very good for ship-ropes. This whale is much less than other whales: it is not longer than seven ells; but in his own country is the best whale-hunting: they are eight and forty ells long, and the largest fifty ells long; of these, he said that he [was] one of six [who] killed sixty in two days.

15. He [Ohthere] was a very wealthy man in those possessions in which their wealth consists; that is, in the wilder [animals]. He had, moreover, when he came to the king, six hundred tame deer of his own breeding. They call these reindeer; of these, six were decoy-deer, which are very valuable among Finns, because with them they take the wild-deer. He was amongst the first men in the land, though he had not more than twenty horned cattle, twenty sheep, and twenty swine; and the little that he ploughed, he ploughed with horses. But their revenue is chiefly in the tribute that the Finns pay them, which tribute is in skins of animals, feathers of birds, in whale-bone, and ship-ropes, which are made from the whale's hide, and from the seal's. Every one pays according to his means: the richest must pay fifteen skins of the marten, and five of the reindeer, and one bear's skin, and forty bushels of feathers, and a bear or otter-skin kirtle, and two ship-ropes, each sixty ells long, one made from the whale's hide, and the other from the seal's.

16. He said that the country of Northmen was very long and very narrow. All that can be either pastured or ploughed lies by the sea, and that, however, is in some places very rocky; and on the east lie wild mountains along the inhabited land. In these mountains [wastes] Finns dwell; and the inhabited land is broadest eastward, and always narrower more northerly. Eastward it may be sixty miles broad, or a little broader, and midway thirty or broader; and northward, he said, where it was narrowest, that it might be three miles broad to the waste, and, moreover, the waste, in some places, [is] so broad that a man may travel over it in two weeks; and in other places so broad that a man may travel over [it] in six days.

17. Then, over against this land southward, on the other side of the waste, is Sweden, extending to the north; and over against the land northward is Cwena land. The Cwenas sometimes make war on the Northmen over the waste, sometimes the Northmen on them. There are very large fresh water meers beyond the wastes; and the Cwenas carry their boats over land into the meers, and thence make war on the Northmen. They have very little boats, and very light.

18. Ohthere said that the district in which he dwelt was called Halgoland. He said that no man abode north of him. Then there is a port, on the south of the land [Norway], which is called Sciringesheal. Thither he said that a man could not sail in a month, if he anchored at night, and every day had a fair wind. All the while he must sail near the land. On his right hand is first[*] Iceland, and then the islands which are between Iceland and this land [Britain]. Then this land continues till he comes to Sciringesheal; and all the way, on the left, [is] Norway. To the south of Sciringesheal a very great sea runs up into the land: it is broader than any man can see over; and Jutland is opposite, on the other side, and then Zealand. This sea lies many hundred miles up into the land.

19. He said that he sailed in five days from Sciringesheal to the port which they call Haddeby [near Schleswig], which stands in the midst of the Winedi, Saxons, and Angles, and belongs to the Danes. When he sailed thitherward from Sciringesheal, then Denmark was on his left; and, on his right, a wide sea for three days; and, the two days before he came to Haddeby, he had on his right Jutland, Zealand, and many islands. The Angles dwelt in these lands before they came into this country.[†] And these two days the islands which belong to Denmark were on his left.

[*] The Cotton MS., the only one that contains this part of Ohthere's voyage, has Iraland. Though I have the greatest objection to conjectural emendations of a text, in this case, after reading the context, and all that commentators have written upon it, I prefer substituting Isaland for Iraland. To what Dr. Ingram and Rask have advanced to justify the insertion of Isaland in the text, it may be added that Ireland was generally called Scotland from the fifth to the eleventh century.

Langebek and Porthan retained Iraland in the text, and Forster sanctioned this reading; but they all thought, erroneously, that Scotland was intended. Dr. Ingram, in his Inaugural Lecture, published in 1807, preferred reading Isaland, and gives his reasons thus: "I suspect that the true reading in the original, instead of Ira-land [*i.e.* Scotland] should be Isaland, Iseland (or, as it is sometimes improperly written, Iceland). How frequently the Saxon letters two have been confounded and interchanged is well known to every person conversant in the language. As Ohthere sailed from Halgoland, Iseland was the first land to his right, and then the islands of Faroe, Shetland, and Orkney, between Iseland and this land [*i.e.* England]: then this land continued on his right hand till he entered the Baltic, which he soon afterwards describes very accurately, as running up many hundred miles into the land, and so wide that no man could see over it."

[†] Alfred expressly states here that the Engles before they came to Britain dwelt not only

20. Wulfstan * said that he went from Haddeby, that he was in Truso in seven days and nights, that the ship was running all the way under sail. He had Weonodland [Mecklenburg and Pomerania] on the right [starboard], and Langland, Laaland, Falster, and Sconey on his left; and all these lands belong to Denmark. And then we had on our left the land of the Burgundians [Bornholmians], who have their own king. After the land of the Burgundians we had on our left those lands that were called first Blekingey and Meore and Oeland and Gothland; and these lands belong to Sweden. And we had Weonodland on the right all the way to the mouth of the Vistula. The Vistula is a very large river, and near it lie Witland and Weonodland; and Witland belongs to the Esthonians. The Vistula flows out of Weonodland and runs into the Frische Haff [Estmere]. The Frische Haff is, at least, fifteen miles broad. Then the Elbing comes from the east into the Frische Haff, out of the lake [Drausen] on the shore of which Truso stands; and [they] come out together into the Frische Haff, the Elbing from the east, out of Esthonia, and the Vistula from the south, out of Weonodland. Then the Vistula takes away the name of the Elbing, and runs out of the lake into the sea, by a western [opening] on the north [of the Frische Haff]: therefore, they call it the mouth of the Vistula. Esthonia [Eastland] is very large; and there are many towns, and in every town there is a king. There is also very much honey and fishing. The king and the richest men drink mare's milk, but the poor and the slaves drink mead. There is very much war among them; and there is no ale brewed by the Esthonians, but there is mead enough.

21. There is also a custom with the Esthonians that, when a man is dead, he lies in his house, unburnt, with his kindred and friends, a month, sometimes two; and the king and other men of high rank, so much longer according to their wealth,

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in Jutland, but in Zealand and many islands. Hence we conclude that the Engles or Angles came hither not only from Anglen, in South Jutland, between Schleswig and Flensburg, but from the Danish islands. The majority of settlers in Britain were the Engles, and from them we derive not only our being, but our name; for England is, literally, Englaland, the land or country of the Engles. The Engles were the most powerful and energetic of the tribes that constituted the great Saxon confederacy, which, in the third and two following centuries, had the greatest extent of territory in the north-west of Germany. The Saxon confederacy increased, till it possessed the vast extent of country embraced by the Elbe, the Sala, and the Rhine, in addition to their ancient territory between the Elbe and the Oder. In the seventh century, and in the time of Alfred, Schleswig was considered the locality from which England received its chief population.

* Forster says, "Wulfstan appears to have been a Dane, who, perhaps, had become acquainted with Ohthere in the course of his expedition, and had gone with him to England."

remain unburnt sometimes half a year, and lie above ground in their houses. All the while the body is within there must be drinking and sports to the day on which he is burned.

22. Then, the same day, when they wish to bear him to the pile, they divide his property, which is left after the drinking and sports, into five or six parts, sometimes into more, as the amount of his property may be. Then they lay the largest part of it within one mile from the town, then another, then the third, till it is all laid, within the one mile; and the least part shall be nearest the town in which the dead man lies. All the men, who have the swiftest horses in the land, shall then be assembled about five or six miles from the property. Then they all run towards the property; and the man who has the swiftest horse comes to the first and the largest part, and so each after the other, till it is all taken; and he takes the least part who runs to the property nearest the town. Then each rides away with the property, and may keep it all; and, therefore, swift horses are there uncommonly dear. When his property is thus all spent, then they carry him out, and burn him with his weapons and clothes. Most commonly they spend all his wealth, with the long lying of the dead within, and what they lay in the way, which the strangers run for and take away.

23. It is also a custom with the Esthonians that there men of every tribe must be burned; and, if any one find a single bone unburnt, they shall make a great atonement. There is also among the Esthonians a power of producing cold; and, therefore, the dead lie there so long, and decay not, because they bring the cold upon them. And, if a man set two vats full of ale or of water, they cause that either shall be frozen over, whether it be summer or winter.

24. Now will we speak about GREECE, on the south of the river Danube. The sea Propontis lies on the east of Constantinople, a city of the Greeks. On the north of Constantinople the arm of the sea shoots up right west from the Euxine; and, on the north-west of the city, the mouth of the river Danube shoots out south-east into the Euxine Sea; and on the south and on the west side of the mouth are the Mœsians, a tribe of Greeks; and on the west of the city are the Thracians; and, on the west of these, the Macedonians. On the south of the city, and on the south side of the arm of the sea which is called Archipelago [Ægæum], is the country of the

Athenians and of Corinth. To the south-west of Corinth is the country of Achaia, by the Mediterranean Sea. These countries are peopled by Greeks. On the west of Achaia, along the Mediterranean, is the country Dalmatia, on the north side of the sea; and on the north of Dalmatia are the Bulgarians and Istria. On the south of Istria is that part of the Mediterranean Sea which is called Adriatic; and, on the west, the Alpine Mountains; and, on the north, that waste which is between Carinthia and the Bulgarians.

25. Then the country of ITALY extends a long way north-west and south-east; and all around it lies the Mediterranean Sea, save on the north-west. At that end it is bounded by the mountains called the Alps: these begin on the west, from the Mediterranean Sea, in the country Narbonensis, and end again on the east in the country of Dalmatia by the [Adriatic] Sea.

26. The countries called GALLIA BELGICA: On the east of these is the river Rhine, and on the south the mountains called the Alps, and on the south-west the ocean which is called Britannic; and on the north, on the other side of the arm of the ocean, is the country Britain. On the west of the Loire is the country Aquitania; and on the south of Aquitania is some part of the country Narbonensis; and, on the south-west, the country of Spain; and, on the west, the ocean. On the south of Narbonensis is the Mediterranean Sea, where the river Rhone empties itself; and, on the east of it, Provence; and on the west of it, over the wastes, the nearer Spain [Hispania Citerior]; and, on the west and north, Aquitania; and Gascony on the north. Provence has, on the north of it, the Alps; and on the south of it is the Mediterranean Sea; and on the north and east of it are the Burgundians; and on the west the Gasconians.

27. The country of SPAIN is three-cornered, and all encompassed with water by the Atlantic Ocean without and by the Mediterranean Sea within, more than the countries named before. One of the corners lies south-west, opposite to the island called Cadiz; and another east, opposite the country Narbonensis; and the third north-west, towards Betanzos, a city of Galicia; and opposite Scotland [Ireland], over the arm of the sea, right against the mouth of the river called the Shannon. As to that part of Spain,* more distant from us, on the west of

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* It must be recollected that Orosius is supposed to speak, and not Alfred. The royal Geographer, indeed, appears to have deserted Orosius entirely, as an insufficient guide, till he came to those territories, which are situated to the south of the Danube. This, therefore, is

it, and on the north, is the ocean, on the south the Mediterranean Sea, and on the east the nearer Spain; on the north of which are the Aquitani, and on the north-east the forest of the Pyrenees, and on the east Narbonensis, and on the south the Mediterranean Sea.

28. The island BRITAIN: It extends a long way north-east: it is eight hundred miles long and two hundred miles broad On the south of it, and on the other side of the arm of the sea, is Gallia Belgica; and on the west part, on the other side of the sea, is the island Hibernia;* and, on the north part, the Orkney Islands. Ireland, which we call Scotland, is on every side surrounded by the ocean; and, because it is nearer the setting of the sun than other lands, the weather is milder there than in Britain. Then on the north-west of Ireland is that outmost land called Thule; and it is known to few because of its great distance. Thus have we spoken about the boundaries of all Europe as they lie.

29. Now we will [speak] of AFRICA, and how the boundaries lie around it. Our elders said that it was the third part of this mid-earth, not because there was so much of the land, but because the Mediterranean Sea has so divided it; because it breaks more into the south part than it does into the north, and the heat has taken more hold on the south part than the cold has on the north; and because every creature can better withstand cold than heat; for these reasons Africa is less than Europe, both in land and in men.

30. On the east Africa begins, as we said before, westward of Egypt, at the river Nile. Then the most easterly country is called LIBYA CYRENAICA; on the east of it is the nearer Egypt, and on the north the Mediterranean Sea, [and on the south the country] that is called Libya Æthiopum, and on the west the Syrtis Major.

31. On the west of Libya Æthiopum is the farther EGYPT; and on the south the sea which is called Æthiopic; and on the west the Troglodytæ. The country Tripolitana, which is also called Arzuges: it has, on the east of it, the Syrtis Major and the country of the Troglodytæ; and on the north

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the only part of his description which can be strictly considered as a translation. The division also of all Europe into the countries lying north and south of the Danube, so clear and simple, which is completely original, shows how much we owe to King Alfred.

* Ibernia, Hibernia, Igbernia, now Ireland, was denominated Scotland from about the fifth to the eleventh century. The Scoti were first heard of as inhabiting Ireland. As they imposed their name on Hibernia, so in settling in North Britain they gave it the name of Scotland, which it still retains.

the [part of the] Mediterranean Sea which is called Adriatic, and the country which is called Syrtis Minor; and on the west, to the salt lake, Byzacium; and on the south of it to the ocean, the Natobres and Getuli and Garamantes.

32. The country BYZACIUM, in which is the city Adrumetus and Seuges and the great city Carthage and the region of Numidia. They have on the east of them the country Syrtis Minor and the salt lake; and on the north of them is the Mediterranean Sea; and, on the west of them, Mauretania; and, on the south of them, the mountains Uzera; and, on the south of the mountains to the ocean, the ever-wandering Æthiopians.— Mauretania. On the east of it is Numidia; and, on the north, the Mediterranean Sea; and, on the west, the river Malva; and, on the south, Astria, about the mountains, which separate the fruit-bearing land and the barren whirling-sand, which then lies south all the way to the ocean. Mauretania is called also Tingitana. On the east of it is the river Malva; and, on the north, the mountains Albenas, and Calpe, another mountain, where the end shoots up from the ocean, between the mountains eastward, where the pillars of Hercules stand; and on the west of them to the ocean is the mountain Atlas; and, on the south, the mountain called Hesperium; and, on the south of them to the ocean, the country Aulolum. Thus have we spoken about the landmarks of Africa.

33. Now we will speak about the islands which are in the Mediterranean Sea. The island CYPRUS lies opposite Cilicia and Isauria, on the arm of the sea which is called Issicus. It is a hundred and seventy-five miles long and a hundred and twenty-two miles broad. The island CRETE: on the east of it is the sea which is called Carpathian; and westerly, and on the north, the Cretan Sea; and, on the west, the Sicilian, which is also called the Adriatic. It is a hundred and seventy miles long and fifty miles broad.

34. Of the islands called CYCLADES there are fifty-three. On the east of them is the Icarian Sea; and, on the south, the Cretan; and, on the north, the Ægæan; and, on the west, the Adriatic.

35. The island SICILY is three-cornered. At each corner there are hills: the north corner is called Pelorus, near to which is the city Messina; the south corner is called Pachynum, near which is the city Syracuse; and the west corner is called Lilybæum, near which is the city Lilybæum. On

the north and south it is a hundred and fifty-seven miles long; and the third side, along the [east], is a hundred and seventy-seven. On the east of the land is [that part of] the Mediterranean Sea which is called Adriatic; and, on the south, that which is called African; and, on the west, what is called Tyrrhenian; and, on the north, is the sea, which is both narrow and rough, towards Italy.

36. The islands Sardinia and Corsica are separated by a little arm of the sea, which is twenty-two miles broad. SARDINIA is thirty-three miles long and twenty-two miles broad. On the east of it is [that part of] the Mediterranean Sea which is called Tyrrhenian, into which the river Tiber flows. On the south is the sea which lies towards the country of Numidia; and, on the west, the two islands which are called Baleares; and, on the north, the island Corsica.

37. CORSICA: on the east of it is the city of Rome; and, on the south, Sardinia; and, on the west, the Balearic Islands; and, on the north, the country of Tuscany. It is sixteen miles long and nine miles broad.

38. The two islands BALEARES: on the [south] of them is Africa; and Cadiz on the west, and Spain on the north. We have now spoken shortly about the inhabited islands that are in the Mediterranean Sea.

KING ALFRED AS A GEOGRAPHER.

It is a striking and suggestive fact that a ruler who surpassed all others that the world has ever seen in wisdom and insight should have given so high a place to geography. Alfred knew by experience that an acquaintance with the relative positions of places on the earth's surface was the necessary foundation of the kind of knowledge required equally by the statesman, the soldier, and the merchant; and he therefore gave its due place to geography in his grand scheme for the enlightenment of Englishmen. In this he was centuries in advance of his age. . . . As was his wont, when he had resolved to bring knowledge on any particular subject within the reach of his people, he diligently sought out the best authority on geography. Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pliny were unknown to his generation, still hidden away in dark repositories and not to be unearthed until the dawn of the Renaissance. In the ninth century the best geographical work was that of Orosius, who had lived in the days of the Emperor Honorius. His work was a summary of the world's history from the creation to the days of Honorius, with a sketch of all that was then known of geography.

Alfred brought high qualifications to the task of translating and editing Orosius. In his boyhood he had twice made journeys to Rome, which, as regards dangers and hardships, may be compared to an expedition to Lhasa at the present day. In after life he had become very intimately acquainted with the topography of his native island, from the Humber to the shores of the Channel and from the Severn to the East Anglian coast. As a military tactician, he knew each river, valley, hill-range, and plain; as an administrator, he had examined the capabilities of every district; and, as a naval commander, the harbors and estuaries, the tides and currents were familiar to him. So far as his personal knowledge extended, Alfred was a trained geographer. He was also in a position to increase the information derived from his own personal experiences by diligently collecting materials from those foreigners who frequented his court, and by reading. He had the gift of assimilating the knowledge thus acquired, and he studied most diligently. Above all, he was eager to investigate unknown things for the great end he always had in view,— the good of his people. Alfred's design was to collect the best and most extensive geographical information, without confining himself to the text of Orosius. Thus he commences his geographical work with a very lucid account of the peoples of central Europe and of their relative positions, which is not the work of Orosius, but was composed by the king himself from his own sources of information. It is the only account from which such details in that age can be derived.

When we consider the ignorance which prevailed in England before Alfred's time, we can form an idea of the immense importance of his geographical labors and of the brightness of the light with which he dispelled outer darkness in the minds of his countrymen. His work was more especially useful in his own time, owing to the intercourse he encouraged with foreign lands and to the frequent missions he despatched and received. Both through his promotion of intercourse with distant lands and through his literary work, our great king enlightened his people by disseminating geographical knowledge. The first to encourage Arctic exploration, the first to point the way to eastern trade by the Baltic, the first to open communication with India, his literary labors in the cause of geography are even more astonishing. There have been literary sovereigns since the days of Timæus of Sicily writing for their own glory or for their own edification or amusement. Alfred alone wrote with the sole object of his people's good; while in his methods, his scientific accuracy, and in his aims he was several centuries in advance of his time. After his death there was a dreary waste of ignorance, with scarcely even a sign of dawn on the distant horizon. A few Englishmen of ability, such as Roger Bacon and Sacrobosco, speculated and wrote on questions *de sphærâ:* but there was no practical geography until Eden and Hakluyt rose up, nearly seven centuries after the death of our great king. Richard Hakluyt was indebted to Alfred for portions of his work, and he resembled his illustrious precursor somewhat in his zeal, his patriotism, and his diligence. . . . Alfred the Great was, in the truest sense of the term, a man of science: and we hail him as one who stands alone and unrivalled,—the founder of the science of geography in England.—*Sir Clements Markham, President of the Royal Geographical Society.*

KING ALFRED'S PREFACE TO GREGORY'S "PASTORAL CARE."

King Alfred bids greet Bishop Waerferth, lovingly and friendly in his words; and I bid thee to make it known that it hath very often come into my mind what wise men formerly were throughout the English race, both of the spiritual and of the secular condition, and how happy the times then were through the English race, and how the kings, who then had the government of this folk, obeyed God and his messengers, and how they held both their peace, their customs, and their government at home, and also increased their country abroad, and how they then sped both in war and in wisdom, and also the religious orders, how earnest they were, both about their doctrine and about their learning, and about all the services that they should do to God, and how men from abroad sought wisdom and instruction in this land, and how we must now get them from without, if we would have them. So clean was it (learning) now fallen off among the English race that there were very few on this side of the Humber that were able to understand their service in English, or even to turn a sent writing (an epistle) from Latin into English; and I think that there were not many beyond the Humber. So few there were of them that I cannot think of even one on the south of the Thames, when I first took to the kingdom. To God Almighty be thanks that we now have any teacher in the stall; and therefore I have commanded thee that thou do as I believe thou wilt — that thou, who from the things of this world art at leisure for this, as thou often mayest, that thou bestow the wisdom that God has given thee wherever thou mayest bestow it. Think what punishment shall come upon us for this world, when we have not ourselves loved it in the least degree, and also have not left it to other men to do so. We have had the name alone that we were Christians, and very few the virtues. When I then called to mind all this, then I remembered how I saw, ere that all in them was laid waste and burnt up, how the churches throughout all the English race stood filled with treasures and books, and also a great multitude of God's servants, but they knew very little use of those books, for that they could not understand anything of them, for that they were not written in their own language, such as they, our elders, spoke, who erewhile held these places; they loved wisdom, and through that got wealth, and left it to us. Here men may yet see their path, but we know not how to tread in their footsteps, inasmuch as we have both lost that wealth and wisdom, for that we would not with our minds stoop to their tracks. When I then called to mind all this, I then wondered greatly about those good and wise men that have been of old among the English race, and who had fully learned all the books, that they have not been willing to turn any part of them into their own language. But then I soon again answered myself and said, They did not think that men would ever become so reckless, and that learning should fall off in such a way. Of set purpose, then, they let it alone, and wished that there should be more wisdom in this land the more languages we knew. Then I remembered how the Law was first found in the Hebrew tongue, and again, when the Greeks learnt it, then they turned the whole of it into their own language, and also all the other books. And again the Latins also in the same way, when they had learned it, turned it all through wise interpreters into their own language, and likewise all other Christian nations have translated some part into their own speech. Wherefore I think it better, if it also appears so to you, that we, too, should translate some books, which are the most necessary for all men to understand — that we should turn these into that tongue which we all can know, and so bring it about, as we very easily may, with God's help, if we have rest, that all the youth that now is among the English race, of free men, that have property, so that they can apply themselves to these things, may be committed to others for the sake of instruction, so long as they have no power for any other employments, until the time that they may know well how to read English writing. Let men afterwards further teach them Latin, those whom they are willing further to teach, and whom they wish to advance to a higher state.

When I then called to mind how the learning of the Latin tongue before this was fallen away throughout the English race, though many knew how to read writing in English — then began I, among other unlike and manifold businesses of this kingdom, to turn into English the book that is named in Latin *Pastoralis*, and in English the *Hind's Book*, one while word for word, another while meaning for meaning, so far as I learned it with Phlegmund, my archbishop, and with Asser, my bishop, and with Grimbold, my mass-priest, and with John, my mass-priest. After I had then learned them, so that I understood them, and so that I might read them with the fullest comprehension, I turned them into English, and to each bishop's see in my kingdom will send one; and on each is an "æstel" that is of (the value of) fifty mancuses, and I bid, in God's name, that no man undo the æstel from the books, nor the books from the minster. It is unknown how long there may be so learned bishops as now, thank God, are everywhere. For this, I would that they always should be at their place, unless the bishop will have them with him, or they be anywhere lent, or some one write others by them.

Alfred the Great was born, according to the commonly accepted authorities, in 849, and died in 901. As a result of the celebration of the millennial of his birth, at Wantage, his birthplace, in Berkshire, in 1849, a Jubilee edition of his complete works was undertaken; and these two large volumes, published a few years later, contain not only substantially all of Alfred's own writings, but illustrative essays and historical and literary notes by many of the leading Anglo-Saxon scholars of the time. This edition remains the great resource for the student of Alfred, although there are various editions of the several works, both in Alfred's Anglo-Saxon text and in modern English translation. See the article on Alfred by Freeman in the Dictionary of National Biography.

We have in the two volumes of Alfred's writings the great king's Will, the various Charters which bear his signature, his version of the historian Orosius, his version of the Venerable Bede's "Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation," his version of Boethius's "Consolations of Philosophy," a portion of his version of Gregory's "Pastoral Care," his Blossom Gatherings from Saint Augustine, his Laws, and the preface to his version of Gregory's "Dialogues." A few other works have been ascribed to Alfred. Their authenticity is discussed by Professor Earle in his essay upon "King Alfred as a Writer" in the little volume on Alfred edited by the mayor of Winchester, published in 1899.

Alfred's work is almost entirely translation. His preface to Gregory's "Pastoral Care" is a plea for the education of the people, especially in their own English tongue, by giving them the best literature in good translations. But Alfred was the freest of translators. Sometimes, he tells us himself, he gives us word for word, sometimes meaning for meaning. Sometimes, too, he makes important interpellations, short and long, his author simply serving him as a text or point of departure; and he often omits sections which he thinks will not be of service to his people. At a time when learning was almost dead in England, he looked about for the things which would give his people the most valuable information and the best inspiration; and these things he translated into the language of the people, with the help of the best scholars whom he could summon, and circulated by the best means which the conditions of the time made possible. We know that a copy of his translation of Gregory's "Pastoral Care" was sent to every bishop in England. On the whole, perhaps he could not have made a better selection for his purpose. A glance at the list will show that he gave to his people something in their own English history, something in general history, something in geography, in philosophy, and in religion.

In Old South Leaflet No. 113 is published the section from Alfred's translation of Bede which gives the account of Augustine's mission to England. In the present leaflet is given the first chapter of his version of Orosius, a large portion of which chapter, the main description of Europe, is an original insertion of his own,— his account, made up from the best information he could collect, of Europe in his time. It is not only most valuable and interesting as Alfred's work, but as the only authentic contemporary record of the Germanic nations so early as the ninth century. It is perhaps the most important contribution made to geographical science in Alfred's time. His account of the voyages of Ohthere, a Norwegian of his time, around the North Cape, and of Wulfstan in the Baltic Sea, and his general description of Europe or, as he calls it, Germania, are of unique value.

No general history of the world was so well known or so highly esteemed in the time of Alfred as that by Orosius. Indeed, it continued to be held in high esteem down to the time of the invention of printing, being one of the first works that was selected for the press. Orosius was a learned Spanish priest, born in the latter part of the fourth century, the friend of Jerome and of Augustine. When Rome was captured and pillaged by Alaric the Goth in 410, the Romans accused Christianity of being the cause of the affliction and ruin which had befallen the empire. It was to meet this charge that Augustine wrote his "City of God," which is really a philosophy of history, pointing out the increasing providential purpose which runs through the ages and the actual amelioration which had come through Christianity. At Augustine's request and to strengthen the argument, Orosius wrote his compendium of history in the same spirit, covering human history from the beginnings down to his own time; and this is the work, occupying two hundred pages of the Jubilee edition, which Alfred translated into Anglo-Saxon. The translation into modern English is by Joseph Bosworth, and the notes — some of which are used in the preceding pages — are his.

Perhaps the most careful and thorough of the biographies of Alfred is that by the German Pauli, published about 1850. He says in his preface that it "was written by a German for Germans." Twenty years later Thomas Hughes wrote the life of Alfred which most of us love best. His work, he said, remembering Pauli's word, was the work of "an Englishman for Englishmen." There are also lives by Giles, Macfadyen, and others. In preparation for the commemoration of the millennial of Alfred's death at Winchester in 1901, a little volume, "Alfred the Great," was published in 1899, by direction of the committee on the celebration, edited by Alfred Bowker, secretary of the committee and former mayor of Winchester; and this is one of the most useful books on Alfred. The general introduction is by Sir Walter Besant, and this is followed by a series of special essays on the various aspects of Alfred's life and work: "Alfred as King," by Frederic Harrison; "Alfred as a Religious Man and an Educationalist," by the Bishop of Bristol; "Alfred as a Warrior," by Charles Oman; "Alfred as a Geographer," by Sir Clements Markham; "Alfred as a Writer," by Professor John Earle; "English Law before the Norman Conquest," by Sir Frederick Pollock; and "Alfred and the Arts," by Rev. W. J. Loftie. Mr. Markham's essay, from which brief passages are printed on a preceding page, will be read with special interest by students of this leaflet, as will also the essay on "The Geography of King Alfred the Great," by R. T. Hampson, in the Jubilee edition of Alfred's works.

We come into first-hand touch with Alfred in the old Saxon Chronicle and in the Life of Alfred, by Asser, his friend and bishop, whose authenticity is now generally conceded. The various chronicles relating to Alfred are brought together in the Jubilee edition of Alfred's works, also in a recent volume by Conybeare, and partially elsewhere. Alfred was the deliverer of Saxon England from the Danes. The long story of his humiliations and defeats is like the story of Washington's Jersey campaigns. Athelney was like Valley Forge; and the fortitude and patience of Alfred through it all were like the fortitude and patience of Washington. Ethandune was his Yorktown. He was the founder of the English navy. He was the real founder of London as it was during the Middle Ages and as it is to-day. His code of laws stands out pre-eminent. He desired universal education, and worked strenuously for it,—the education of the people, based not on Latin, but on English. He sought to bring his island people into touch with the general civilization of Europe. He was, in a very real sense, the founder of English literature.

No other character in history has been the subject of loftier praise than Alfred the Great. "Amidst the deepest gloom of barbarism," wrote Gibbon, "the virtue of Antoninus, the learning and valor of Cæsar, and the legislative genius of Lycurgus shine forth united in that patriot king." Says Green in his "History of the English People": "Alfred was the noblest as he was the most complete embodiment of all that is great, all that is lovable, in the English temper. He combined, as no other man has ever combined, its practical energy, its patient and enduring force, its profound sense of duty, the reserve and self-control that steadies in it a wide outlook and a restless daring, its temperance and fairness, its frank geniality, its sensitiveness to affection, its poetic tenderness, its deep and passionate religion." Says Freeman, in his "History of the Norman Conquest": "Alfred is the most perfect character in history. . . . A saint without superstition, a scholar without ostentation, a warrior all whose wars were fought in the defence of his country, a conqueror whose laurels were never stained by cruelty, a prince never cast down by adversity, never lifted up to insolence in the day of triumph,—there is no other name in history to compare with his." He institutes comparisons with Saint Louis of France, with Charles the Great, and with the English Edward, all to the advantage of Alfred. "The virtue of Alfred," he says, "like the virtue of Washington, consisted in no marvellous displays of superhuman genius, but in the simple, straightforward discharge of the duty of the moment. But Washington, soldier, statesman, and patriot, like Alfred, has no claim to Alfred's further characters of saint and scholar. William the Silent, too, has nothing to set against Alfred's literary merits; and in his career, glorious as it is, there is an element of intrigue and chicanery utterly alien to the noble simplicity of both Alfred and Washington."

These tributes could be paralleled by passages from Hughes, Pauli, Giles, Frederic Harrison, and a score of students of Alfred. "Alfred," wrote Sir Walter Besant, looking forward to the dedication of the monument at Winchester at the millennial celebration in 1901, "is and will always remain the typical man of our race,—call him Anglo-Saxon, call him American, call him Englishman, call him Australian,—the typical man of our race at his best and noblest. When our monument takes shape and form, let it somehow recognize this great, this cardinal fact. Let it show somehow by the example of Alfred the Anglo-Saxon at his best and noblest,—here within the circle of the narrow seas or across the ocean, wherever King Alfred's language is spoken; wherever King Alfred's laws prevail; into whatever fair lands of the wide world King Alfred's descendants have penetrated."

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Augustine in England.

FROM KING ALFRED'S VERSION OF THE VENERABLE BEDE'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH NATION, LITERALLY TRANSLATED FROM THE ANGLO-SAXON BY E. THOMSON.

BOOK I. CHAPTER XV.

That the English nation was invited by the Britons into Britain; and they soon at first drove their enemies far [off]. But not a long time after they covenanted with them, and turned their weapons against the Britons, their allies.

1. Then it was about four hundred and forty-nine years from [our] Lord's incarnation that Marcianus, the emperor, undertook the government, and held it seven years; he was the forty-sixth from Augustus, the emperor. Then the nation of the English and Saxons was invited by the foresaid king, and came into Britain in three great ships, and received a dwelling-place in the eastern part of this island, by command of the same king who invited them hither, that they should war and fight for their country. And they soon made war against their enemies, who had oft before harried on them from the north; and the Saxons then got the victory. Then they sent home messengers, and bade them tell of the fruitfulness of this land and the sloth of the Britons; and they soon sent hither a greater ship-force of stronger warriors, and there was an invincible host when they were joined together. And the Britons gave them a dwelling-place among them, that they should war and strive against their foes for the peace and safety of their country, and they should give them a livelihood and honor for their labor.

2. They came from the three strongest nations of Germany, that [is] from the Saxons, the Angles, and the Geats (*Jutes*). From the Jutes' origin came the Kentish men and the Wight-

setters; that is, the nation which inhabits the Isle of Wight. From the Saxons, that is, from the land which is called Old Saxony, came the East Saxons and South Saxons and West Saxons. And from the Angles (*or English*) came the East Anglians and Middle Anglians and Mercians, and all the Northumbrian kin; the country which is named Angulus is betwixt the Jutes and the Saxons. It is said that from the time when they went thence until to-day it lies waste. Their leaders and generals then at first were two brothers, Hengist and Horsa. They were the sons of Wightgilse, whose father was called Witta, and his father was called Wihta, whose father was named Woden, from whose stock the kingly kin of many tribes drew its beginning.

3. There was then no delay, so that greater hosts came heap-meal from the nations which we mentioned before; and the folk which came hither began to wax and spread so much that they were a great terror to the same inhabitants of the land who had formerly invited and called them hither.

4. After these things they made a truce for some time with the Picts, whom they had formerly driven far away by fighting; and then the Saxons sought causes and opportunities of their separation from the Britons, and showed openly and told them, unless they gave them a greater livelihood, that they would themselves take and harry where they could find it; and they soon fulfilled the threat with deeds,— burnt and harried and slew from the east sea on to the west sea, and none withstood them. The vengeance was not unlike that by which the Chaldeans long ago burnt the walls of Jerusalem, and destroyed the kingly buildings with fire for the sins of God's people. So, then, here by that wicked nation, yet by the righteous judgment of God, nearly every city and land were forharried. Royal buildings and private rushed and fell, and everywhere priests and mass-priests together were struck and killed among the altars; bishops with the people, without any respect of dignity, were consumed with steel and flame, nor was there any who might give burial to those who were so cruelly killed; and many of the miserable remnant were seized in waste places and stabbed heap-meal; some for hunger went into the hands of their foes, and promised perpetual servitude on condition that food should be given to them; and some went sorrowing over sea; some abode in their country, fearing, and, in wretched life, always dwelt in woods and wastes and on high cliffs, with sorrowing mind.

CHAPTER XVI.

That the Britons at first got a victory over the English nation. Their general was one Ambrosius, a Roman.

1. And then after the army returned home, and had driven out and scattered the inhabitants of this island, then began they piece-meal to take mind and main, and went forth of the dark places in which they formerly were behid, and all with one-minded consent prayed for heavenly help, that they might not be everywhere blotted out even to utter destruction. Their general and leader at that time was Ambrosius, by surname Aurelianus. He was a good man, and a moderate man of Roman kin. In this man's time the Britons took mind and main, and he called them forth to the fight, and promised them victory, and they also in the fight through God's help got the victory; and then from that time, sometimes the Britons, sometimes the Saxons obtained the victory, until the year of the besetting of Baddesdown [hill], when they made a great slaughter among the English kin, about four and forty years after the English kin's coming into Britain.

CHAPTER XVII.

That Germanus, the bishop, coming to Britain in a ship with Lupus, by divine might stilled first the rage of the sea, afterwards [that] of the Pelagians.

CHAPTER XVIII.

That the same [prelate] enlightened the alderman's blind daughter, and after that, coming to the holy Alban, there first received his reliques, and also set thereto the reliques of the holy Apostles and of other martyrs.

CHAPTER XIX.

That the same bishop by reason of infirmity was detained there, and by prayer quenched the burnings of the houses, and was himself healed of his illness by a vision.

CHAPTER XX.

That the same bishops gave the Britons divine help in a fight, and so returned home.

CHAPTER XXI.

That the twigs of the Pelagian pestilence sprouting again, Germanus, coming back to Britain with Severus, first renewed the steps of a halt youth, and after that, having condemned and reformed the heretics, he renewed the steps of right belief to God's people.

CHAPTER XXII.

That the Britons rested from foreign wars, vexed themselves with intestine broils, and sunk themselves in many sins.

CHAPTER XXIII.

That the holy pope Gregory sent Augustine with monks to preach God's word and belief to the English nation; and likewise with a confirmatory epistle strengthened them, that they should not leave off the labor.

1. When according to forthrunning time [it] was about five hundred and ninety-two years from Christ's hithercoming, Mauricius, the emperor, took to the government, and had it two and twenty years. He was the fifty-fourth from Augustus. In the tenth year of that emperor's reign, Gregory, the holy man, who was in lore and deed the highest, took to the bishophood of the Roman Church, and of the apostolic seat, and held and governed it thirteen years and six months and ten days. In the fourteenth year of the same emperor, about a hundred and fifty years from the English nation's hither coming into Britain, he was admonished by a divine impulse that he should send God's servant Augustine, and many other monks with him, fearing the Lord, to preach God's word to the English nation.

2. When they obeyed the bishop's commands, and began to go to the mentioned work, and had gone some deal of the way, then began they to fear and dread the journey, and thought that it was wiser and safer for them that they should rather return home than seek the barbarous people, and the fierce and the unbelieving, even whose speech they knew not; and in common chose this advice to themselves; and then straightway sent Augustine (whom they had chosen for their bishop if their doctrines should be received) to the pope, that he might humbly intercede for them, that they might not need to go upon a journey so perilous and so toilsome, and a pilgrimage so unknown.

3. Then St. Gregory sent a letter to them, and exhorted and advised them in that letter: that they should humbly go into the work of God's word, and trust in God's help; and that they should not fear the toil of the journey, nor dread the tongues of evil-speaking men; but that, with all earnestness, and with the love of God, they should perform the good things which

they by God's help had begun to do; and that they should know that the great toil would be followed by the greater glory of everlasting life; and he prayed Almighty God that he would shield them by his grace; and that he would grant to himself that he might see the fruit of their labor in the heavenly kingdom's glory, because he was ready to be in the same labor with them, if leave had been given him.

CHAPTER XXV.

That Augustine came into Britain — first in the Isle of Thanet, and preached Christ's belief to the king of the Kent-men; and so with his leave preached God's word in Kent.

1. Then Augustine was strengthened by the exhortation of the blessed father Gregory, and with Christ's servants who were with him returned to the work of God's word, and came into Britain. Then was at that time Ethelbert king in Kent, and a mighty one, who had rule as far as the boundary of the river Humber, which sheds asunder the south folk of the English nation and the north folk. Then [there] is on the eastward of Kent a great island [Thanet by name], which is six hundred hides large, after the English nation's reckoning. The isle is shed away from the continuous land by the stream Wantsum, which is three furlongs broad, and in two places is fordable, and either end lies in the sea. On this isle came up Christ's servant Augustine and his fellows — he was one of forty. They likewise took with them interpreters from Frankland (France), as St. Gregory bade them; and he sent messengers to Ethelbert, and let him know that he came from Rome, and brought the best errand, and whosoever would be obedient to him, he promised him everlasting gladness in heaven, and a kingdom hereafter without end, with the true and living God.

2. When [he then] the king heard these words, then ordered he them to abide in the isle on which they had come up; and their necessaries to be there given them until he should see what he would do to them. Likewise before that, a report of the Christian religion had come to him, for he had a Christian wife, who was given to him from the royal kin of the Franks — Bertha was her name; which woman he received from her parents on condition that she should have his leave that she might hold the manner of the Christian belief, and of

her religion, unspotted, with the bishop whom they gave her for the help of that faith; whose name was Luidhard.

3. Then [it] was after many days that the king came to the isle, and ordered to make a seat for him out [of doors], and ordered Augustine with his fellows to come to his speech (*a conference*). He guarded himself lest they should go into any house to him; he used the old greeting, in case they had any magic whereby they should overcome and deceive him. But they came endowed — not with devil-craft, but with divine might. They bore Christ's rood-token — a silvern cross of Christ and a likeness of the Lord Jesus colored and delineated on a board; and were crying the names of holy men; and singing prayers together, made supplication to the Lord for the everlasting health of themselves, and of those to whom they come.

4. Then the king bade them sit, and they did so; and they soon preached and taught the word of life to him, together with all his peers who were there present. Then answered the king, and thus said, Fair words and promises are these which ye have brought and say to us; but because they are new and unknown, we cannot yet agree that we should forsake the things which we for a long time, with all the English nation, have held.

But because ye have come hither as pilgrims from afar, and since it seems and is evident to me that ye wished to communicate to us also the things which ye believed true and best, we will not therefore be heavy to you, but will kindly receive you in hospitality, and give you a livelihood, and supply your needs. Nor will we hinder you from joining and adding to the religion of your belief all whom you can through your lore.

5. Then the king gave them a dwelling and a place in Canterbury, which was the chief city of all his kingdom, and as he had promised to give them a livelihood and their worldly needs, he likewise gave them leave that they might preach and teach the Christian faith. It is said that when they went and drew nigh to the city, as their custom was, with Christ's holy cross, and with the likeness of the great King our Lord Jesus Christ, they sung with a harmonious voice this Litany and Antiphony: Deprecamur te, &c. "We beseech thee, Lord, in all thy mercy, that thy fury and thy wrath be taken off from this city and [from] thy holy house, because we have sinned. Alleluia."

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CHAPTER XXVI.

That Augustine in Kent imitated the life and lore of the early Church, and received a bishop-seat in the king's city.

1. Then it was soon after they had entered into the dwelling place which had been granted to them in the royal city, when they began to imitate the apostolic life of the primitive church — that is, served the Lord in constant prayers, and waking and fasting, and preached and taught God's word to whom they might, and slighted all things of this world as foreign; but those things only which were seen [to be] needful for their livelihood they received from those whom they taught; according to that which they taught, they [themselves] through everything lived; and they had a ready mind to suffer adversity, yea likewise death [it]self, for the truth which they preached and taught. Then was no delay that many believed and were baptized. They also wondered at the simplicity of [their] harmless life and the sweetness of their heavenly lore.

2. There was by east well-nigh the city a church built in honor of St. Martin long ago, whilst the Romans yet dwelt in Britain [in which church the queen [was] wont to pray, of whom we said before that she was a Christian]. In this church at first the holy teachers began to meet and sing and pray, and do mass-song, and teach men and baptize, until the king was converted to the faith, and they obtained more leave to teach everywhere, and to build and repair churches.

3. Then came it about through the grace of God that the king likewise among others began to delight in the cleanest life of holy [men] and their sweetest promises, and they also gave confirmation that those were true by the showing of many wonders; and he then, being glad, was baptized. Then began many daily to hasten and flock together to hear God's word, and to forsake the manner of heathenism, and joined themselves, through belief, to the oneness of Christ's holy church. Of their belief and conversion [it] is said that the king was so evenly glad that he, however, forced none to the Christian manner [of worship], but that those who turned to belief and to baptism he more inwardly loved, as they were fellow-citizens of the heavenly kingdom. For he had learnt from his teachers and from the authors of his health that Christ's service should be of good will, not of compulsion. And he then, the king, gave and granted to his teachers a place and settlement suit-

able to their condition, in his chief city, and thereto gave their needful supplies in various possessions.

CHAPTER XXVII.

That the same being made bishop sent word to Pope Gregory of the things that had been done in Britain, and at the same time asked and received his answers about the needful things.

1. During these things the holy man Augustine fared over sea, and came to the city Arles, and by Ætherius, archbishop of the said city, according to the behest and commandment of the blessed father St. Gregory, was hallowed archbishop of the English people, and returned and fared into Britain, and soon sent messengers to Rome, that was Laurence a mass-priest and Peter a monk, that they should say and make known to the blessed St. Gregory that the English nation had received Christ's belief, and that he had been consecrated as bishop. He likewise requested his advice about many causes and questions which were seen by him [to be] needful; and he soon sent suitable answers of them.

2. Asked by St. Augustine, bishop of the church of Canterbury: First, of bishops, how they shall behave and live with their fellows. Next, on the gifts of the faithful which they bring to holy tables and to God's churches,—how many doles of them shall be?

Answered by Pope St. Gregory: Holy writ makes it known, quoth he, which I have no doubt thou knowest, and sunderly the blessed Paul's epistle which he wrote to Timothy, in which he earnestly trained and taught him how he should behave and do in God's house. For it is the manner of the apostolic seat, when they hallow bishops, that they give them commandments, and that of all the livelihood which comes in to them there shall be four doles. One, in the first place, to the bishop and his family for food, and entertainment of guests and comers; a second dole to God's servants; a third to the needy; the fourth to renewing and repair of God's church. But because thy brotherliness has been trained and taught in monastic rules, thou shalt not, however, be asunder from thy fellows in the English church, which now yet is newly come and led to the faith of God. This behavior and this life thou shalt set up, which our fathers had in the beginning of the new-born church, when none of them said that aught of that which they owned was his in sunder; but they all had all things common. If, then, any priests or God's servants are settled without holy orders, let those who cannot withhold themselves from women take them wives, and receive their livelihood outside. For of the same fathers, of whom we spoke before, [it] is written that they dealt their worldly goods to sundry men as every [one] had need.

3. Likewise concerning their livelihood it is to be thought and foreseen (*i.e.*, *provided*) that they live in good manners under ecclesiastical rules, and sing psalms and keep wakes and hold their hearts and tongues and bodies clean from all forbidden [things] to Almighty God. But, as to those living in common life, what have we to say how they deal their alms, or exercise hospitality, and fulfil mercy? since all that is left over in their worldly substance is to be reached and given to the pious and good, as the master of all, our Lord Christ, taught and said: Quod superest, &c. "What is over and left, give alms, and to you are all [things] clean."

4. Asked by St. Augustine: Since there is one faith, and are various customs of churches, there is one custom of mass-song in the holy Roman church, and another is had in the kingdom of Gaul.

Answered by Pope St. Gregory: Thou thyself knowest the manner and custom of the Roman church, in which thou wert reared; but now it seems good, and is more agreeable to me, that whatsoever thou hast found either in the Roman church or in Gaul, or in any other [church], that was more pleasing to Almighty God, thou should carefully choose that, and set it to be held fast in the church of the English nation, which now yet is new in the faith. For the things are not to be loved for places; but the places, for good things. Therefore what things thou choosest as pious, good, and right from each of sundry churches, these gather thou together, and settle into a custom in the mind of the English nation.

5. Asked by Augustine: I pray thee, what punishment shall he suffer,—whosoever takes away anything by stealth from a church?

Answered by Gregory: This may thy brotherliness determine from the thief's condition, how he may be corrected. For there are some who have worldly wealth, and yet commit theft; there are some who are in this wise guilty through poverty. Therefore need is that some be corrected by waning of their worldly goods, some by stripes; some more sternly, some more mildly. And though the punishment be inflicted a little harder or sterner, yet it is to be done of love, not of wrath nor of fury; because through the throes of this is procured to the man that he be not given to the everlasting fires of hell-torments. For in this manner we ought to punish men, as the good fathers are wont [to do] their fleshly children, whom they chide and swinge for their sins; and yet those same whom they chide and chastise by these pains they also love, and wish to have for their heirs, and for them hold their worldly goods which they possess, whom they seem in anger to persecute and torment. For love is ever to be held in the mind, and it dictates and determines the measure of the chastisement, so that the mind does nothing at all beside the right rule. Thou likewise addest in thy inquiry, how those things should be compensated which have been taken away from a church by theft. But, oh! far be it that God's church should receive with increase what she seems to let alone of earthly things, and seek worldly gain by vain things. . . . 6. . . .

7. Asked by Bishop St. Augustine: At what generation shall Christian people be joined among themselves in marriage with their kinsfolk? . . . Answered by St. Gregory. . . .

8. But because there are many in the English nation [who], while they were then yet in unbelief, are said to have been joined together in this sinful marriage,* now they are to be admonished, since they have come to the faith, that they hold themselves off from such iniquities, and understand that it is a heavy sin, and dread the awful doom of God, lest they for fleshly love receive the torments of everlasting death. They are not, however, for this cause to be deprived of the communion of Christ's body and blood, lest this thing may seem to be revenged on them, in which they through unwittingness sinned before the bath of baptism. For at this time the holy church corrects some things through zeal, bears with some through mildness, overlooks some through consideration, and so bears and overlooks that often by bearing and overlooking she checks the opposing evil. All those who come to the faith of Christ are to be reminded that they may not dare to commit any such thing. But, if any shall commit them, then are they to be deprived of Christ's body and blood; for, as some little is to be borne with in regard to those men who through unwit-

* That is, with their near kinsfolk.

tingness commit sin, so on the other hand it is to be strongly pursued in those who dread not to sin wittingly.

9. Asked by Bishop St. Augustine: If a great distance of journey lies between, so that bishops may not easily come, whether may a bishop be hallowed without the presence of other bishops.

Answered by Gregory: In the English church, indeed, in which thou alone as yet art found a bishop, thou canst not hallow a bishop otherwise than without other bishops; but bishops must come to thee out of the kingdom of Gaul, that they may stand as witness at the bishop's hallowing, for the hallowing of bishops must not be otherwise than in the assembling and witnessing of three or four bishops, that they may send [up] and pour [forth] their petitions and prayers to the Almighty God for his favor.

10. Asked by Augustine: How must we do with the bishops of Gaul and Britain?

Answered by Pope Gregory: Over the bishops of Gaul we give thee no authority, because from the earlier times of my predecessors the bishop of the city Arles received the pallium, whom we ought not to degrade nor to deprive of the received authority. But, if thou happen to go into the province of Gaul, have thou a conference and consultation with the said bishop what is to be done, or, if any vices are found in bishops, how they shall be corrected and reformed; and if there be a supposition that he is too lukewarm in the vigor of his discipline and chastisement, then is he to be inflamed and abetted by thy brotherliness's love,* that he may ward off those things which are contrary to the behest and commands of our Maker, from the manners of the bishops. Thou mayest not judge the bishops of Gaul without their own authority; but thou shalt mildly admonish them, and show them the imitation of thy good works. All the bishops of Britain we commend to thy brotherliness, in order that the unlearned may be taught, the weak strengthened by thy exhortation, and the perverse corrected by thy authority.†

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* A brother is here styled "his brotherliness," as a pope "his holiness."

† The remainder of this is not translated here.

CHAPTER XXIX.

That the same Pope Gregory sent Augustine a pallium and more help to teach God's word.

1. Augustine likewise bade [his messengers] acquaint him that a great harvest was here present and few workmen. And he then sent with the aforesaid messengers more help to him for divine learning, among whom the first and greatest were Mellitus and Justus and Paulinus and Rufinianus, and by them generally all those things which were needful for the worship and service of the church,—communion vessels, altar-cloth, and church ornaments, and bishops' robes, and deacons' robes, as also reliques of the apostles and holy martyrs, and many books. He likewise sent to Augustine the bishop a pallium, and a letter in which he intimated how he should hallow other bishops, and in what places [he should] set them in Britain.

CHAPTERS XXX. AND XXXI. ARE OMITTED BY ALFRED.

CHAPTER XXXII.

That the pope sent a letter and gifts to Ethelbert the king; that Augustine renewed Christ's Church, and built St. Peter's monastery.

The blessed Pope Gregory likewise at the same time sent a letter to King Ethelbert, and along with it many worldly gifts of diverse sorts. He wished likewise by these temporal honors to glorify the king, to whom he had, by his labor and by his diligence in teaching, opened and made known the glory of the heavenly kingdom.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

That Augustine, with the help of King Ethelbert, renewed and wrought Christ's Church. That Augustine built the monastery of the apostles Peter and Paul; and concerning its first abbot, Peter.

1. And then St. Augustine, as soon as he received the bishop-seat in the royal city, renewed and wrought, with the king's help, the church which he had learnt was wrought long before by old Roman work, and hallowed it in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; and he there set a dwelling-place for himself and all his after-followers. He likewise built a monastery by east of the city, in which Ethelbert the king, by his exhortation

and advice, ordered to build a church worthy of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and he enriched it with various gifts, in which church the body of Augustine, and of all the Canterbury bishops together, and of their kings, might be laid. The Church, however, not Augustine, but Bishop Laurentius, his after-follower, hallowed.

2. The first abbot at the same monastery was a mass-priest named Peter, who was sent back as a messenger into the kingdom of Gaul, and then was drowned in a bay of the sea, which was called Amfleet, and was laid in an unbecoming grave by the inhabitants of the place. But the Almighty God would show of what merit the holy man was, and every night a heavenly light was made to shine over his grave, until the neighbors, who saw it, understood that it was a great and holy man who was buried there; and they then asked who and whence he was: they then took his body, and laid and buried it in a church in the city Boulogne, with the honor befitting so great and so holy a man.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

That Ethelfrith, king of the Northumbrians, overcame the nation of the Scots in fight, and drove them out of the boundaries of the English people.

1. In these times, over the kingdom of the Northumbrians, was a very powerful king, and very desirous of glory, Ethelfrith by name, who, more than all the English kings and governors, wasted and harried the nation of the Britons, even so that he might be compared to Saul, long ago king of the nation of the Israelites, but that he was unwitting of the divine religion. Never was there any king or governor that more deprived them of their lands, and subjected them to his power; for he made them tributary to the English nation, or drove them from their lands. Very well might be applied to him the saying which Jacob the high-father * spoke in the person of Saul the king, when he blessed his son: "Benjamin is a ravening wolf; in the early morning he shall eat the prey, and in the evening he shall deal the spoil." Then for his stoutness was stirred up Aedon, king of the Scots who dwell in Britain. He then led an army on him, and came with an immense and strong host to fight against him; but nevertheless he was overcome, and

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* Patriarch.

fled away with few [of his men]. This battle was fought in the famous place which is called Degsa-stone, where almost all his host was slain. In that battle likewise Theodbald, Ethelfrith's brother, was slain with all the host which he led. This fight Ethelfrith accomplished in the eleventh year of his reign, which he had four and twenty winters. That was the first year of Phocas the Emperor, who had the sovereignty of the Romans. Since that time no king of the Scots durst come to a fight against the English nation until this present day.

Here endeth the first book, and beginneth the second.

BOOK II.—CHAPTER I.

1. In these times, that is six hundred and five years after our Lord's incarnation, the blessed Pope Gregory, after he had gloriously held and ruled the seat of the Roman and apostolic church thirteen years and six months and ten days, died and was led to the everlasting seat of the heavenly kingdom.

2. He held and ruled the church in the times of the emperors Mauricius and Phocas; and in the second year of the same Phocas he went forth of this life, and went to the true life, which is in heaven, and his body was buried in St. Peter's Church, before the housel-porch, the fourth day before the Ides (*the 12th day*) of March, and some time hereafter he shall, in the same [body], rise in glory, with other pastors of the holy church. And on his burying [place] is written an epitaph of this import: —

Receive, thou earth! a body from thy body taken,
That thou may give it back when him God makes alive.
The spirit sought high heaven, no power of death shall scathe it,
To which of other life death's self is more the way.
The limbs of the high bishop are within this barrow tined,*
Who always liveth everywhere in numberless good deeds.
The poor men's hunger he o'ercame with food, their cold with clothing,
And by his holy monishings their souls from foes he shielded.
And he with deed fulfil'd whate'er with word he taught,
The mystic words he spake, that he life's pattern were of saints:
To Christ the English he brought round by piety of lore,
And in that nation gained new hosts to the belief of God.
This toil, this zeal, this care thou hadst, thus thou our pastor didst,
That to the Lord thou mightest bring much gain of holy souls.
In these (and such-like) triumphs thou, God's bishop, may'st rejoice,
For of thy works eternal meed thou hast in endless glory.

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* Anglo-Saxon, "betyned," enclosed.

3. We must not omit to mention the opinion, which has come to us by the tradition of old men, concerning the blessed Gregory: by what cause he was induced to take such an earnest care about the salvation of our nation. They say that one day chapmen had newly come thither from Britain, and brought many market-things to market; and also many came to buy the things. Then it happened that Gregory, among others, came thither also, and then saw among other things boys for sale set there, [who] were persons of a white body, fair countenance, and fine hair. When he saw and beheld them, he asked from what land, or from what nation they were brought. It was said to him that they were brought from the island Britain, and that the inhabitants of that island were men of such complexion. Again he asked whether the same land's folk were Christians or yet lived in the errors of heathenism. It was said and told to him that they yet were heathens, And he then from his inward heart sighed heavily, and thus said: "Alas! it is a woful thing that the prince of darkness should own and possess so fair a soul, and persons of so bright a countenance." Again he asked what the nation was named which they came from. Then it was answered him that they were named Angli. "Well may it be so," quoth he, "for they have angelic looks; and it is likewise fit that they be fellow-heirs with the angels in heaven." He yet further asked and said, "What was the name of the province from which those youths were brought hither?" Then answered him one, and said that they were named Deiri. "That," quoth he, "is well said,—Deiri, that is *de ira eruti* (*rescued from wrath*), they must be rescued from the wrath of God, and called to the mercy of Christ." Then yet he asked what their king was called; and one answered him, and said that he was called Ella. Then played he with his words to the name, and said, "Alleluia, it is meet that the praise of God, our maker, be sung in those parts."

4. And he then soon went to the bishop and (to the) pope of the apostolic seat, for he himself was not yet made bishop, and prayed him that he would send some teachers into Britain to the English nation, that through them they might be converted to Christ, and said that he himself was ready with God's help to perform that work, if it liked the apostolic pope, and it were his will and his leave. Then the pope would not grant that, nor the citizens the more, that so noble, so venerable, and so

learned a man should go so far from them. But he, as soon as ever he was made bishop, accomplished the work which he had long wished, and sent the holy teachers hither, of whom we spoke before; and St. Gregory, by his exhortations and by his prayers, was helping, that their lore might be fruitful of God's will and the good of the English kin.

CHAPTER II.

That Augustine taught and advised the bishops of the Britons for the peace of the right-believing (*orthodox*), a heavenly wonder also being done before them. And also what wreak followed after those despising it.

1. Then it was that Augustine, with the help of King Ethelbert, invited to his speech the bishops and teachers of the Britons, in the place which is yet named Augustine's Oak, on the borders of the Hwiccii and West-Saxons. And he then began, with brotherly love, to advise and teach them, that they should have right love and peace between them, and undertake, for the Lord, the common labor of teaching divine lore in the English nation. And they would not hear him, nor keep Easter at its right tide,* and also had many other things unlike and contrary to ecclesiastical unity. When they had held a long conference and strife about those things, and they would not yield any things to Augustine's instructions, nor to his prayers, nor to his threats, and [those] of his companions, but thought their own customs and institutions better than [that] they should agree with all Christ's churches throughout the world; then the holy father Augustine put an end to this troublesome strife, and thus spoke.

2. "Let us pray Almighty God,† who makes the one-minded to dwell in his Father's house, that he vouchsafe to signify to us by heavenly wonders which institution we ought to follow, by what ways to hasten to the entrance of his kingdom. Let an infirm man be brought hither to us, and, through whose prayer soever he be healed, let his belief and practice be believed acceptable to God, and to be followed by all."

When his adversaries had hardly granted that, a blind man of English kin was led forth: he was first led to the bishops of the Britons, and he received no health nor comfort through their ministry. Then at last Augustine was constrained by righteous need, arose and bowed his knees, [and] prayed God the Almighty Father that he would give sight to the blind man, that he through one man's bodily enlightening might kindle the gift of ghostly light in the hearts of many faithful. Then soon, without delay, the blind man was enlightened, and received sight; and the true preacher of the heavenly light, Augustine, was proclaimed and praised by all. Then the Britons also acknowledged with shame that they understood that it was the way of truth which Augustine preached: they said, however, that they could not, without consent and leave of their people, shun and forsake their old customs. They begged that again another synod should be [assembled], and they then would attend it with more counsellors.

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* Literally "nor hold right Easters at their tide or time." We still use noontide, eventide, and *tides* of the sea, the *times* of its rising or sinking.

† A common designation of Christ in Anglo-Saxon authors.

3. When that accordingly was set, seven bishops of the Britons came, and all the most learned men, who were chiefly from the city Bangor: at that time the abbot of that monastery was named Dinoth. When they then were going to the meeting, they first came to a [certain] hermit, who was with them holy and wise. They interrogated and asked him whether they should for Augustine's lore forsake their own institutions and customs. Then answered he them, " If he be a man of God, follow him." Quoth they to him, " How may we know whether he be so ? " Quoth he : " [Our] Lord himself hath said in his gospel, Take ye my yoke upon you, and learn from me that I am mild and of lowly heart. And now if Augustine is mild and of lowly heart, then it is [to be] believed that he bears Christ's yoke and teaches you to bear it. If he then is unmild and haughty, then it is known that he is not from God, nor [should] ye mind his words." Quoth they again, " How may we know that distinctly ? " Quoth he, " See ye that he come first to the synod with his fellows, and sit; and, if he rises towards you when ye come, then wit ye that he is Christ's servant, and ye shall humbly hear his words and his lore. But if he despise you, and will not rise towards you since there are more of you, be he then despised by you." Well, they did so as he said.

4. When they had come to the Synod-place, the archbishop Augustine was sitting on his seat. When they saw that he rose not for them, they quickly became angry, and upbraided him [as being] haughty, and gainsaid and withstood all his words.

The archbishop said to them, "In many things ye are contrary to our customs and so to [those] of all God's churches; and yet if ye will be obedient to me in these three things,—that first ye celebrate Easter at the right tide; that ye fulfil the ministry of baptism, through which we are born as God's children, after the manner of the holy Roman and apostolic church; and that, thirdly, ye preach the word of the Lord to the English people together with us,—we will patiently bear with all other things which ye do that are contrary to our customs." They said that they would do none of these things, nor would have him for an archbishop: they said among themselves, "If he would not now rise for us, much more, if we shall be subjected to him, will he contemn us for naught." It is said that the man of God, St. Augustine, in a threatening manner foretold, "if they would not receive peace with men of God, that they should receive unpeace and war from their foes; and, if they would not preach among the English race the word of life, they should through their hands suffer the vengeance of death."

5. And through everything, as the man of God had foretold, by the righteous doom of God it came to pass; and very soon after this Ethelfrith, king of the English, of whom we spoke before, collected a great army, and led it to Legcaster, and there fought against the Britons, and made the greatest slaughter of the faithless people. Whilst he was beginning the battle, King Ethelfrith saw their priests and bishops and monks standing aloof in a safer place, that they should pray and make intercession to God for their warriors: he inquired and asked what that host was, and what they were doing there. When he understood the cause of their coming, then said he, "So! I wot if they cry to their God against us; though they bear not a weapon, they fight against us, for they pursue us with their hostile prayers and curses." He then straightway ordered to turn upon them first, and slay them. Men say that there were twelve hundred of this host, and fifty of them escaped by flight; and he so then destroyed and blotted out the other host of the sinful nation, not without great waning of his [own] host; and so was fulfilled the prophecy of the holy Bishop Augustine, that they should for their trowlessness suffer the vengeance of temporal perdition, because they despised the skilful counsel of their eternal salvation.

CHAPTER III.

That Augustine hallowed Mellitus and Justus to bishops, and of his decease.

1. After these things Augustine, bishop [of Britain], hallowed two bishops: the one was named Mellitus, the other Justus. Mellitus he sent to preach divine lore to the East-Saxons, who are shed off from Kentland by the river Thames, and joined to the east sea. Their chief city is called Lundencaster (*now London*), standing on the bank of the foresaid river; and it is the market-place of land and sea comers. The king in the nation at that time was Seabright (*or Sabert*), Ethelbert's sister-son, and his vassal. Then he and the nation of the East-Saxons received the word of truth and the faith of Christ through Mellitus, the bishop's lore. Then King Ethelbert ordered to build a church in London, and to hallow it to St. Paul the apostle, that he and his after-followers might have their bishop-seat in that place. Justus he hallowed as bishop in Kent itself at Rochester, which is four and twenty miles right west from Canterbury, in which city likewise King Ethelbert ordered to build a church, and to hallow it to St. Andrew the apostle; and to each of these bishops the king gave his gifts and bookland and possessions for them to brook with their fellows.

2. After these things, then, Father Augustine, beloved of God, departed [this life], and his body was buried without [doors], nigh the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, which we mentioned before, because it was not then yet fully built nor hallowed. As soon as it was hallowed, then his body was put into it, and becomingly buried in the north porch of the church, in which likewise the bodies of all the after-following archbishops are buried but two; that is, Theodorus and Berhtwald, whose bodies are laid in the church itself, because no more might [be so] in the foresaid porch. Well-nigh in the middle of the church is an altar * set and hallowed in name of St. Gregory, on which every Saturday their memory and decease are celebrated with mass-song by the mass-priest of that place. On St. Augustine's tomb is written an inscription of this sort: Here resteth Sir † Augustine, the first archbishop of Canterbury, who was formerly sent hither by the blessed Greg-

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* *Lit.*, holy table, wigbed, Anglo-Saxon.

† "Sir" in Eng. ("Schir," Scot.) equal to *Dominus*, Latin, was five or six centuries ago prefixed to the name of every ordained priest.

ory, bishop of the Roman city; and was upheld by God with working of wonders. King Ethelbert and his people he led from the worship of idols to the faith of Christ, and, having fulfilled the days of his ministry in peace, departed on the 26th day of May in the same king's reign.

St. Augustine was the first archbishop of Canterbury. He was educated at Rome under the famous Gregory, by whom he was sent to Britain with forty monks of the Benedictine order, to carry out the project of converting the English to Christianity. England was not a land where Christianity was unheard of. Bertha, the wife of Ethelbert, king of Kent, was a Christian, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, and had brought her chaplain with her, using for Christian services the ruined church of St. Martin, outside Canterbury, which survived from Roman times. Augustine and his monks, setting out reluctantly, landed on the isle of Thanet in the year 596. The history of what followed, to the death of Augustine, is given in the chapters from the Venerable Bede's "Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation," printed in the present leaflet. The chapters immediately preceding the story of Augustine, giving an account of the coming of the Angles and Saxons, are printed, as showing the conditions which Augustine found in England.

The "Ecclesiastical History" is the chief monument of the labors of the Venerable Bede, and gives us the best of our knowledge of the history of England until 731, four years before his death. Bede, "the father of English history," was the most learned and famous English scholar of his age; and the number and range of his writings were very great. The monastery at Jarrow, where he taught, and whither hundreds of monks repaired to study, spread the fame of English scholarship throughout Europe. His history shows marvellous industry, manifest truthfulness, and rare literary charm. As King Alfred translated Orosius for his people as the best available book in universal history, so he translated Bede as the best work on their own English history. There are controversies among the scholars as to Alfred's exact personal responsibility for the translation, as there are concerning other works traditionally attributed to him. His version, literally translated into modern English by Thomson, from which the present leaflet is taken, occupies about 200 pages in the Jubilee edition of Alfred's works. There are other English translations by Stapleton, Stevens, Hurst, Giles, and Gidley.

For further information, see the articles on Alfred, by Edward A. Freeman; Augustine, by Bishop Creighton; and Bede, by Rev. William Hunt, in the Dictionary of National Biography. Old South leaflet No. 112 contains King Alfred's Description of Europe (from the Orosius), with fuller historical and bibliographical notes concerning Alfred. The Jubilee edition of King Alfred's works, in two large volumes, was published a few years after the celebration in 1849 of the millennial of his birth, and is very complete. There are lives of Alfred by Pauli, Hughes, Giles, Macfadyen and others.

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The Hague Arbitration Convention.

CONVENTION FOR THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DIFFERENCES, 1899.

His Majesty the German Emperor, King of Prussia; His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Bohemia, etc., and Apostolic King of Hungary; His Majesty the King of the Belgians; His Majesty the Emperor of China; His Majesty the King of Denmark; His Majesty the King of Spain, and in his name Her Majesty the Queen-Regent of the Kingdom; the President of the United States of America; the President of the United States of Mexico; the President of the French Republic; Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India; His Majesty the King of the Hellenes; His Majesty the King of Italy; His Majesty the Emperor of Japan; His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Luxemburg, Duke of Nassau; His Highness the Prince of Montenegro; Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands; His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia; His Majesty the King of Portugal and the Algarves; His Majesty the King of Roumania; His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias; His Majesty the King of Servia; His Majesty the King of Siam; His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway; The Swiss Federal Council; His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans; and His Royal Highness the Prince of Bulgaria.

Animated by a strong desire to concert for the maintenance of the general peace;

Resolved to second by their best efforts the friendly settlement of international disputes;

Recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations;

Desirous of extending the empire of law, and of strengthening the appreciation of international justice;

Convinced that the permanent institution of a Court of Arbitration, accessible to all, in the midst of the independent Powers, will contribute effectively to this result;

Having regard to the advantages attending the general and regular organization of arbitral procedure;

Sharing the opinion of the august Initiator of the International Peace Conference that it is expedient to solemnly establish, by an international Agreement, the principles of equity and right on which repose the security of States and the welfare of peoples;

Being desirous of concluding a Convention to this effect, have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries, to wit: —

(Names.)

Who, after communication of their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions: —

TITLE I.— *On the Maintenance of General Peace.*

ARTICLE I. With a view to obviating, as far as possible, recourse to force in the relations between States, the Signatory Powers agree to use their best efforts to insure the pacific settlement of international differences.

TITLE II.— *On Good Offices and Mediation.*

ARTICLE II. In case of serious disagreement or conflict, before an appeal to arms, the Signatory Powers agree to have recourse, as far as circumstances allow, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly Powers.

ARTICLE III. Independently of this recourse, the Signatory Powers consider it useful that one or more Powers, strangers to the dispute, should, on their own initiative, and as far as circumstances will allow, offer their good offices or mediation to the States at variance.

The right to offer good offices or mediation belongs to Powers who are strangers to the dispute, even during the course of hostilities.

The exercise of this right shall never be regarded by one or the other of the parties to the contest as an unfriendly act.

ARTICLE IV. The part of the mediator consists in reconciling the opposing claims and in appeasing the feelings of resentment which may have arisen between the States at variance.

ARTICLE V. The functions of the mediator are at an end when once it is declared, either by one of the parties to the dispute or by the mediating Power itself, that the methods of conciliation proposed by it are not accepted.

ARTICLE VI. Good offices and mediation, whether at the request of the parties at variance or upon the initiative of Powers who are strangers to the dispute, have exclusively the character of advice, and never have binding force.

ARTICLE VII. The acceptance of mediation cannot, unless there be an agreement to the contrary, have the effect of interrupting, delaying, or hindering mobilization or other measures of preparation for war.

If mediation occurs after the commencement of hostilities, it causes no interruption to the military operations in progress, unless there be an agreement to the contrary.

ARTICLE VIII. The Signatory Powers are agreed in recommending the application, when circumstances allow, of special mediation in the following form: —

In case of a serious difference endangering the peace, the States at variance shall each choose a Power, to whom they intrust the mission of entering into direct communication with the Power chosen on the other side, with the object of preventing the rupture of pacific relations.

During the period of this mandate, the term of which, unless otherwise stipulated, cannot exceed thirty days, the States in conflict shall cease from all direct communication on the subject of the dispute, which is regarded as having been referred exclusively to the mediating Powers, who shall use their best efforts to settle the controversy.

In case of a definite rupture of pacific relations, these Powers remain charged with the joint duty of taking advantage of every opportunity to restore peace.

TITLE III.— *On International Commissions of Inquiry.*

ARTICLE IX. In differences of an international nature involving neither honor nor vital interests, and arising from a difference of opinion on matter of fact, the Signatory Powers recommend that parties who have not been able to come to an agreement by diplomatic methods should, as far as circumstances allow, institute an International Commission of Inquiry, to facilitate a solution of the differences by elucidating the facts, by means of an impartial and conscientious investigation.

ARTICLE X. International Commissions of Inquiry shall be constituted by a special agreement between the parties to the controversy. The agreement for the inquiry shall specify the facts to be examined and the extent of the powers of the commissioners. It shall fix the procedure. Upon the inquiry both sides shall be heard. The procedure to be observed, if not provided for in the Convention of Inquiry, shall be fixed by the Commission.

ARTICLE XI. The International Commissions of Inquiry shall be formed, unless otherwise stipulated, in the manner fixed by Article XXXII. of the present Convention.

ARTICLE XII. The Powers in dispute agree to supply the International Commission of Inquiry, as fully as they may consider it possible, with all means and facilities necessary to enable it to arrive at a complete acquaintance and correct understanding of the facts in question.

ARTICLE XIII. The International Commission of Inquiry shall present to the parties in dispute its report signed by all the members of the Commission.

ARTICLE XIV. The report of the International Commission of Inquiry shall be limited to a statement of the facts, and shall in no way have the character of an arbitral award. It leaves the Powers in controversy freedom as to the effect to be given to such statement.

TITLE IV.— *On International Arbitration.*

CHAPTER I.— *On Arbitral Justice.*

ARTICLE XV. International arbitration has for its object the determination of controversies between States by judges of their own choice, upon the basis of respect for law.

ARTICLE XVI. In questions of a judicial character, and especially in questions regarding the interpretation or application of international treaties or conventions, arbitration is recognized by the Signatory Powers as the most efficacious and at the same time the most equitable method of deciding controversies which have not been settled by diplomatic methods.

ARTICLE XVII. An agreement of arbitration may be made with reference to disputes already existing or those which may hereafter arise. It may relate to every kind of controversy or solely to controversies of a particular character.

ARTICLE XVIII. The agreement of arbitration implies the obligation to submit in good faith to the decision of the arbitral tribunal.

ARTICLE XIX. Independently of existing general or special treaties imposing the obligation to have recourse to arbitration on the part of any of the Signatory Powers, these Powers reserve to themselves the right to conclude, either before the ratification of the present Convention, or subsequent to that date, new agreements, general or special, with a view of extending the obligation to submit controversies to arbitration, to all cases which they consider suitable for such submission.

CHAPTER II.— *On the Permanent Court of Arbitration.*

ARTICLE XX. With the object of facilitating an immediate recourse to arbitration for international differences which could not be settled by diplomatic methods, the Signatory Powers undertake to organize a permanent Court of Arbitration accessible at all times, and acting, unless otherwise stipulated by the parties, in accordance with the rules of procedure included in the present Convention.

ARTICLE XXI. The permanent Court shall have jurisdiction of all cases of arbitration, unless there shall be an agreement between the parties for the establishment of a special tribunal.

ARTICLE XXII. An International Bureau shall be established at The Hague, and shall serve as the record office for the Court. This Bureau shall be the medium of all communications relating to the Court. It shall have the custody of the archives, and shall conduct all the administrative business. The Signatory Powers agree to furnish the Bureau at The Hague with a certified copy of every agreement of arbitration arrived at between them, and of any award therein rendered by a special tribunal. They also undertake to furnish the Bureau with the laws, rules, and documents, eventually declaring the execution of the judgments rendered by the Court.

ARTICLE XXIII. Within three months following the ratification of the present act, each Signatory Power shall select not more than four persons, of recognized competence in questions of international law, enjoying the highest moral reputation, and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrators. The persons thus selected shall be enrolled as members of the Court, upon a list which shall be communicated by the Bureau to all the Signatory Powers. Any alteration in the list of arbitrators shall be brought to the knowledge of the Signatory Powers by the Bureau. Two or more Powers may unite in the selection of one or more members of the Court. The same person may be selected by different powers. The members of the Court shall be appointed for a term of six years, and their appointment may be renewed. In case of the death or resignation of a member of the Court, his place shall be filled in accordance with the method of his appointment.

Article XXIV. Whenever the Signatory Powers wish to have recourse to the permanent Court for the settlement of a difference that has arisen between them, the arbitrators selected to constitute the Tribunal which shall have jurisdiction to determine such difference, shall be chosen from the general list of members of the Court. If such arbitral Tribunal be not constituted by the special agreement of the parties, it shall be formed in the following manner: Each party shall name two arbitrators, and these together shall choose an umpire. If the votes shall be equal, the choice of the umpire shall be intrusted to a third Power selected by the parties by common accord. If an agreement is not arrived at on this subject, each party shall select a different Power, and the choice of the umpire shall be made by the united action of the Powers thus selected. The Tribunal being thus constituted, the parties shall communicate to the Bureau their decision to have recourse to the Court, and the names of the arbitrators. The Tribunal of arbitration shall meet at the time fixed by the parties. The members of the Court, in the discharge of their duties, and outside of their own country, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

Article XXV. The Court of Arbitration shall ordinarily sit at The Hague. Except in cases of necessity, the place of session shall be changed by the Court only with the assent of the parties.

Article XXVI. The International Bureau at The Hague is authorized to put its offices and its staff at the disposal of the Signatory Powers, for the performance of the duties of any special tribunal of arbitration. The jurisdiction of the permanent Court may be extended, under conditions prescribed by its rules, to controversies existing between Non-signatory Powers, or between Signatory Powers and Non-signatory Powers, if the parties agree to submit to its jurisdiction.

ARTICLE XXVII. The Signatory Powers consider it their duty, in case a serious dispute threatens to break out between two or more of them, to remind these latter that the permanent Court of arbitration is open to them. Consequently, they declare that the fact of reminding the parties in controversy of the provisions of the present Convention, and the advice given to them, in the higher interests of peace, to have recourse to the permanent Court, can only be considered as an exercise of good offices.

ARTICLE XXVIII. A permanent administrative Council composed of the diplomatic representatives of the Signatory Powers accredited to The Hague, and of the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs, who shall act as President, shall be constituted in that city as soon as possible after the ratification of the present Act by at least nine Powers. This Council shall be charged with the establishment and organization of the International Bureau, which shall remain under its direction and control. It shall notify the Powers of the constitution of the Court and provide for its installation. It shall make its own by-laws and all other necessary regulations. It shall decide all questions of administration which may arise with regard to the operations of the Court. It shall have entire control over the appointment, suspension, or dismissal of officials and employees of the Bureau. It shall determine their allowances and salaries, and control the general expenditure. At meetings duly summoned five members shall constitute a quorum. All decisions shall be made by a majority of votes. The Council shall communicate to each Signatory Power without delay the by-laws and regulations adopted by it. It shall furnish them with a signed report of the proceedings of the Court, the working of the administration, and the expenses.

ARTICLE XXIX. The expense of the Bureau shall be borne by the Signatory Powers in the proportion established for the International Bureau of the International Postal Union.

CHAPTER III.— *On Arbitral Procedure.*

ARTICLE XXX. With a view to encouraging the development of arbitration, the Signatory Powers have agreed on the following rules which shall be applicable to the arbitral procedure, unless the parties have agreed upon different regulations.

ARTICLE XXXI. The Powers which resort to arbitration shall sign a special act (*compromis*), in which the subject of the difference shall be precisely defined, as well as the extent of the powers of the arbitrators. This act implies an agreement by each party to submit in good faith to the award.

ARTICLE XXXII. The duties of arbitrator may be conferred upon one arbitrator alone or upon several arbitrators selected by the parties, as they please, or chosen by them from the members of the permanent Court of Arbitration established by the present act. Failing the constitution of the Tribunal by direct agreement between the parties, it shall be formed in the following manner: —

Each party shall appoint two arbitrators, and these shall together choose an umpire. In case of an equal division of votes the choice of the umpire shall be intrusted to a third Power to be selected by the parties by common accord. If no agreement is arrived at on this point, each party shall select a different Power, and the choice of the umpire shall be made by agreement between the Powers thus selected.

ARTICLE XXXIII. When a Sovereign or Chief of State shall be chosen for an arbitrator, the arbitral procedure shall be determined by him.

ARTICLE XXXIV. The umpire shall preside over the Tribunal. When the Tribunal does not include an umpire, it shall appoint its own presiding officer.

ARTICLE XXXV. In case of the death, resignation, or absence, for any cause, of one of the arbitrators, the place shall be filled in the manner provided for his appointment.

ARTICLE XXXVI. The parties shall designate the place where the Tribunal is to sit. Failing such a designation, the Tribunal shall sit at The Hague. The place of session thus determined shall not, except in the case of overwhelming necessity, be changed by the Tribunal without the consent of the parties.

ARTICLE XXXVII. The parties shall have the right to appoint agents or attorneys to represent them before the Tribunal, and to serve as intermediaries between them and it.

They are also authorized to employ for the defence of their rights and interests before the Tribunal counsellors or solicitors named by them for that purpose.

Article XXXVIII. The Tribunal shall decide upon the choice of languages used by itself or to be authorized for use before it.

Article XXXIX. As a general rule, the arbitral procedure shall comprise two distinct phases,—preliminary examination and discussion. Preliminary examination shall consist in the communication by the respective agents to the members of the Tribunal and to the opposite party, of all printed or written acts, and of all documents containing the arguments to be invoked in the case. This communication shall be made in the form and within the period fixed by the Tribunal, in accordance with Article XLIX.

The discussion shall consist in the oral development before the Tribunal of the argument of the parties.

Article XL. Every document produced by one party must be communicated to the other party.

Article XLI. The discussions shall be under the direction of the President. They shall be public only in case it shall be so decided by the Tribunal, with the assent of the parties. They shall be recorded in the official minutes drawn up by the Secretaries appointed by the President. These official minutes alone shall have an authentic character.

Article XLII. When the preliminary examination is concluded, the Tribunal may refuse admission of all new acts or documents, which one party may desire to submit to it, without the consent of the other party.

Article XLIII. The Tribunal may take into consideration such new acts or documents to which its attention may be drawn by the agents or counsel of the parties. In this case the Tribunal shall have the right to require the production of these acts or documents, but it is obliged to make them known to the opposite party.

Article XLIV. The Tribunal may also require from the agents of the party the production of all papers, and may demand all necessary explanations. In case of refusal the Tribunal shall take note of the fact.

Article XLV. The agents and counsel of the parties are authorized to present orally to the Tribunal all the arguments which they may think expedient in support of their cause.

Article XLVI. They shall have the right to raise objections and to make incidental motions. The decisions of the Tribunal on these points shall be final, and shall not form the subject of any subsequent discussion.

Article XLVII. The members of the Tribunal shall have the right to put questions to the agents or counsel of the parties and to demand explanations from them on doubtful points. Neither the questions put nor the remarks made by members of the Tribunal during the discussion or argument shall be regarded as an expression of opinion by the Tribunal in general, or by its members in particular.

Article XLVIII. The Tribunal is authorized to determine its own jurisdiction, by interpreting the agreement of arbitration or other treaties which may be quoted in point, and by the application of the principles of international law.

Article XLIX. The Tribunal shall have the right to make rules of procedure for the direction of the trial to determine the form and the periods in which parties must conclude the argument, and to prescribe all the formalities regulating the admission of evidence.

Article L. The agents and the counsel of the parties having presented all the arguments and evidence in support of their case, the President shall declare the hearing closed.

Article LI. The deliberations of the Tribunal shall take place with closed doors. Every decision shall be made by a majority of the members of the Tribunal. The refusal of any member to vote shall be noted in the official minutes.

Article LII. The award shall be made by a majority of votes, and shall be accompanied by a statement of the reasons upon which it is based. It must be drawn up in writing and signed by each of the members of the Tribunal. Those members who are in the minority may, in signing, state their dissent.

Article LIII. The award shall be read in a public sitting of the Tribunal, the agents and counsel of the litigants being present or having been duly summoned.

Article LIV. The award duly pronounced and notified to the agents of the parties in litigation shall decide the dispute finally and without appeal.

Article LV. The parties may reserve in the agreement of arbitration the right to demand a rehearing of the case. In this case, and in the absence of any stipulation to the contrary, the demand shall be addressed to the Tribunal which has pronounced the judgment; but it shall be based only on the discovery of new facts, of such a character as to exercise a decisive influence upon the judgment, and which at the time of the judgment were unknown to the Tribunal itself and to the parties demanding the rehearing. The proceedings for a rehearing can only be begun by a decision of the Tribunal stating expressly the existence of the new fact and recognizing that it possesses the character described in the preceding paragraph, and declaring that the demand is admissible on that ground. The agreement of arbitration shall determine the time within which the demand for a rehearing shall be made.

Article LVI. The award shall be obligatory only upon the parties who have concluded the arbitration agreement. When there is a question of the interpretation of an agreement entered into by other Powers besides the parties in litigation, the parties to the dispute shall notify the other Powers which have signed the agreement, of the special agreement which they have concluded. Each one of these Powers shall have the right to take part in the proceedings. If one or more among them avail themselves of this permission, the interpretation in the judgment becomes obligatory upon them also.

Article LVII. Each party shall bear its own expenses and an equal part of the expenses of the Tribunal.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

Article LVIII. The present Convention shall be ratified with as little delay as possible. The ratifications shall be deposited at The Hague. An official report of each ratification shall be made, a certified copy of which shall be sent through diplomatic channels to all the Powers represented in the Peace Conference at The Hague.

Article LIX. The Powers which were represented at the International Peace Conference, but which have not signed this Convention, may become parties to it. For this purpose they will make known to the Contracting Powers their adherence by means of a written notification addressed to all the other Contracting Powers.

Article LX. The conditions under which Powers not represented in the International Peace Conference may become adherents to the present Convention shall be determined hereafter by agreement between the Contracting Powers.

Article LXI. If one of the High Contracting Parties shall give notice of a determination to withdraw from the present Convention, this notification shall have its effect only after it has been made in writing to the Government of the Netherlands and communicated by it immediately to all the other Contracting Powers. This notification shall have no effect except for the Power which has made it.

In faith of which the Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention and affixed their seals to it.

Done at the Hague, the 29th July, 1899, in a single copy, which shall remain in the archives of the Netherland Government, and copies of it, duly certified, be sent through the diplomatic channel to the Contracting Powers.

(Signatures.)

THE CZAR'S RESCRIPT.

Issued by Count Muravieff, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the 24th of August, 1898.

The maintenance of general peace and a possible reduction of the excessive armaments which weigh upon all nations present themselves, in the existing condition of the whole world, as the ideal towards which the endeavors of all governments should be directed.

The humanitarian and magnanimous spirit of His Majesty the Emperor, my August Master, is wholly convinced of this view.

In the conviction that this lofty aim is in conformity with the most essential interests and the legitimate wishes of all the Powers, the Imperial Government thinks the present moment would be very favorable for an inquiry, by means of international discussion, as to the most effective means of insuring to all the peoples the benefits of a real and durable peace, and, above all, of putting a limit to the progressive development of the present armaments.

In the course of the last twenty years, the longings for general appeasement have been particularly marked in the consciousness of the civilized nations. The preservation of peace has been put forward as the object of international policy. It is in its name that the Great States have concluded between themselves powerful alliances. It is the better to guarantee peace that they have developed their military forces in proportions hitherto unknown, and still continue to increase them without shrinking from any sacrifice.

But all these efforts have not yet been able to bring about the beneficent results of the pacification desired.

The financial burdens, constantly increasing, strike at public prosperity at its very source. The intellectual and physical forces of the nations, and their labor and capital are, for the most part, diverted from their natural application and unproductively consumed. Hundreds of millions are employed in procuring terrible engines of destruction, which, though to-day regarded as the supreme attainment of science, are sure to-morrow to lose all value because of some new invention in this field. National culture, economic progress, and the production of wealth are paralyzed or checked in development.

So, too, in proportion as the armaments of each power increase, do they less and less fulfil the object which the governments have had in view. Economic crises, due in great part to the system of armament *à outrance*, and the continual danger which lies in this accumulation of war material, are transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing. It seems evident that if this state of things continues it will inevitably lead to the very cataclysm which it is desired to avert, the horrors of which, even in anticipation, cause every thinking man to tremble.

To put an end to these incessant armaments, and to seek the means of warding off the calamities which threaten the whole world, is the supreme duty resting to-day upon all states.

Filled with this idea, His Majesty the Emperor has been pleased to command me to propose to all the governments which have accredited representatives at the Imperial Court the meeting of a conference which shall take into consideration this grave problem.

This conference will be, by the help of God, a happy presage for the century now about to open. It will unite, and thus greatly strengthen, the efforts of all those states which sincerely seek to make the great conception of universal peace triumph over the elements of trouble and discord. It will, at the same time, cement them together by a joint consecration of the principles of equity and right on which rest the security of states and the welfare of peoples.

THE CZAR'S SECOND CIRCULAR.

Addressed by Count Muravieff to the Representatives of the Powers at St. Petersburg on the 11th of January, 1899.

When, in the month of August last, my August Master ordered me to propose to the governments having representatives at St. Petersburg the meeting of a conference whose purpose should be an inquiry as to the most efficacious means of assuring to all peoples the benefits of a real and durable peace, and, above all, of putting a stop to the progressive development of existing armaments, nothing seemed to be in the way of the realization, at a comparatively early date, of this humanitarian project.

The cordial reception given to the request of the Imperial Government by almost all the Powers justified this expectation. Greatly appreciating the sympathetic terms in which the acceptance of the greater part of the governments was expressed, the Imperial Cabinet, at the same time, has received, with lively satisfaction, the evidences of most sincere approval which have been addressed to it, and which do not cease to come from all classes of society and from all quarters of the world.

In spite of the great movement of opinion which has taken place in favor of the idea of general pacification, the political horizon has materially changed its aspect. In recent weeks, several Powers have determined upon new armaments, taking upon themselves the task of increasing further their military forces. In view of this uncertain situation, one might be led to ask whether the Powers really consider the present moment opportune for the international discussion of the ideas put forth in the circular of August 24.

Hoping, nevertheless, that the elements of confusion which are disturbing the political spheres will soon give place to calmer feelings, such as will favor the success of the proposed conference, the Imperial Government is of the opinion that it will be possible to proceed at once to a provisional exchange of ideas between the Powers with this aim in view, and to make an inquiry without delay as to the means of putting a stop to the progressive increase of armaments on land and sea. The solution of this question is evidently becoming more and more urgent, in view of the recent extension given to these armaments, and of the necessity of preparing the way for a discussion of all questions having reference to the possibility of preventing armed conflicts by the pacific means which are at the disposal of international diplomacy.

In case the Powers should consider the present moment favorable for the meeting of a conference of this kind, it would certainly be useful for the Cabinets to come to some agreement upon the subject of the programme of its deliberations. The topics to be submitted to international discussion in the conference might be stated in general terms as follows: —

1. An agreement stipulating that for a time to be agreed upon the existing armed forces on land and sea shall not be increased; the same agreement to apply to the corresponding budgets. A provisional study of the ways in which, in the future, a reduction of these forces and budgets may be brought about.

2. Interdiction of the use, in the armies and navies, of any new firearms whatever, and of new explosives, as well as of powders more powerful than those actually in use, whether for rifles or for cannon.

3. Limitation of the employment, in land warfare, of the formidable explosives already in use, and prohibition of the hurling of projectiles or explosives of any kind from balloons or in analogous ways.

4. Prohibition of the employment, in naval warfare, of submarine torpedo boats or "divers," or of other engines of destruction of the same nature. Engagement not to construct in the future ships of war with rams.

5. Application to maritime warfare of the stipulations of the Geneva Convention of 1864, on the basis of the additional articles of 1868.

6. Neutralization, on the same terms, of ships or small vessels engaged in saving the wrecked, during or after battles at sea.

7. Revision of the declaration concerning the laws and customs of war made in 1874 by the Brussels Conference, but not ratified up to the present hour.

8. Acceptance of the principles of mediation and voluntary arbitration for cases to which they are applicable, with the view of preventing armed conflicts between the nations; an understanding as to the mode of their application, and the establishment of a uniform practice in their use.

It is, of course, understood that all questions concerning the political relations of the states and their treaty rights, as, in general, all questions not directly included in the programme adopted by the Cabinets must be absolutely excluded from the deliberations of the conference.

In requesting you, sir, to find out the wishes of your government in regard to the subject referred to in this communication, I beg of you, at the same time, to bring to its attention the fact that, in the interest of the great cause which my August Master has so much at heart, His Imperial Majesty judges that it would be advisable for the conference not to sit in the capital of one of the great Powers, where are centred so many political interests which might retard the progress of a work in which all the countries of the world are equally interested.

The Peace Conference at The Hague met on the 18th of May, 1899, in response to the rescript of the Czar of Russia issued on the 24th of August, 1898. The invitation went to all the States having accredited diplomatic representatives at St. Petersburg; and all of the States invited to the Conference accepted the invitation. There were one hundred members of the Conference: a full list of these, arranged by States, may be found in Mr. Holls's book on the Conference. The commissioners from the United States were Hon. Andrew D. White, Hon. Seth Low, Hon. Stanford Newel, Captain Alfred T. Mahan, and Captain William Crozier; and the secretary and counsel of the commission was Frederick W. Holls. Baron de Staal, the head of the Russian delegation, was elected the president of the Conference. The Conference continued until July 29, when the final act and other documents were signed. The arbitration treaty was signed on July 29 by the representatives of sixteen powers, and was afterwards signed and ratified by all the powers represented at the Conference. The United States Senate ratified it unanimously on Feb. 5, 1900.

The conclusions of the Conference were embodied in three Conventions and three Declarations. The three Conventions were: I. Convention for the peaceful settlement of international differences; II. Convention regarding the laws and customs of war by land; III. Convention for the adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of the 22d August, 1864. The three Declarations were: I. To prohibit the launching of projectiles and explosives from balloons or by other similar new methods; II. To prohibit the use of projectiles, the only object of which is the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases; III. To prohibit the use of bullets which expand or flatten easily in the human body, such as bullets with a hard envelope, of which the envelope does not entirely cover the core or is pierced with incisions. The Conference also passed a resolution favoring the restriction of the present burdensome military changes, and formulated various wishes looking toward the limitation of armaments and humaner methods of war.

By far the most important of the acts of the Conference was its First Convention, providing for the peaceful settlement of international differences. This Convention is printed in the present leaflet. Mr. Holls well pronounces it "the Magna Charta of International Law." It provided, for the first time in history, adequate machinery for the settlement of differences between nations by the methods of reason instead of by force, and marks an epoch for humanity.

"The Peace Conference at The Hague," by Frederick W. Holls, the Secretary of the American Commission, is a thorough history of the Conference and a critical commentary upon its proceedings; and the student is referred to this work for full information. In the appendix will be found the full text of the various Conventions and Declarations, as well as the reports of the American Commission, and an account of the Hugo Grotius celebration at Delft, July 4, 1899, with the oration of Ambassador White. The introduction to Grotius's "Rights of War and Peace" is published in Old South Leaflet No. 101. See also William **Penn's "Plan for the Peace of Europe," No. 75.**

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No. 115.

John Cabot's Discovery of North America.

Letter from Lorenzo Pasqualigo to his brothers Alvise and Francesco.[*]

London, 23rd August, 1497.

Our Venetian, who went with a small ship from Bristol to find new islands, has come back, and says he has discovered, 700 leagues off, the mainland of the country of the Gran Cam, and that he coasted along it for 300 leagues, and landed, but did not see any person. But he has brought here to the king certain snares spread to take game, and a needle for making nets, and he found some notched trees, from which he judged that there were inhabitants. Being in doubt, he came back to the ship. He has been away three months on the voyage, which is certain, and, in returning, he saw two islands to the right, but he did not wish to land, lest he should lose time, for he was in want of provisions. This king has been much pleased. He says that the tides are slack, and do not make currents as they do here. The king has promised for another time, ten armed ships as he desires, and has given him all the prisoners, except such as are confined for high treason, to go with him, as he has requested; and has granted him money to amuse himself till then. Meanwhile, he is with his Venetian wife and his sons at Bristol. His name is Zuam Talbot,[†] and he is called the Great Admiral, great honour being paid to him, and he goes dressed in silk. The English are ready to go with him, and so are many of our rascals. The discoverer of these things has planted a large cross in the ground with a banner of England, and one of St. Mark, as he is a Venetian; so that our flag has been hoisted very far away.

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[*] *Calendar of State Papers* (Venice), i. p. 262, No. 752.

[†] A misprint: "T" for "C."

*First Despatch of Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan.**
(*Extract.*)

24th AUGUST, 1497.

Some month afterwards His Majesty sent a Venetian, who is a distinguished sailor, and who was much skilled in the discovery of new islands, and he has returned safe, and has discovered two very large and fertile islands, having, it would seem, discovered the seven cities 400 leagues from England to the westward. These successes led His Majesty at once to entertain the intention of sending him with fifteen or twenty vessels.

Second Despatch of Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan.†

18th DECEMBER, 1497.

My most illustrious and most excellent Lord,

Perhaps amidst so many occupations of your Excellency it will not be unwelcome to learn how this Majesty has acquired a part of Asia without drawing his sword. In this kingdom there is a certain Venetian named Zoanne Caboto, of gentle disposition, very expert in navigation, who, seeing that the most serene Kings of Portugal and Spain had occupied unknown islands, meditated the achievement of a similar acquisition for the said Majesty. Having obtained royal privileges securing to himself the use of the dominions he might discover, the sovereignty being reserved to the Crown, he entrusted his fortune to a small vessel with a crew of 18 persons, and set out from Bristo, a port in the western part of this kingdom. Having passed Ibernia, which is still further to the west, and then shaped a northerly course, he began to navigate to the eastern part, leaving (during several days) the North Star on the right hand; and having wandered thus for a long time, at length he hit upon land,‡ where he hoisted the royal standard, and took possession for this Highness, and, having obtained various proofs of his discovery, he returned. The said Messer Zoanne, being a foreigner and poor, would not have been believed if the crew, who are nearly all English, and belonging to Bristo, had not testified that what he said was the truth. This Messer Zoanne has the description of the world on a chart, and also on a solid sphere which he has constructed, and on which he shows where he has been; and, proceeding towards the east, he has passed as far as the country of the Tanais. And they say that there the land is excellent and (the climate?) temperate, suggesting that brasil and silk grow there. They affirm that the sea is full of fish, which are not only taken with a net, but also with a basket, a stone being fastened to it in order to keep it in the water; and this I have heard stated by the said Messer Zoanne.

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* *Calendar of State Papers* (Venice), iii. p. 260, No. 750.

† *Annuario Scientifico*, Milan, 1866, p. 700; *Archiv d' État Milan*, reprinted by Harrisse, p. 324, from the *Intorno* of Desimoni, and translated from his text for the Hakluyt Society, with his permission. Also Tarducci, p. 351.

‡ "Terra ferma."

The said Englishmen, his companions, say that they took so many fish that this kingdom will no longer have need of Iceland, from which country there is an immense trade in the fish they call stock-fish. But Messer Zoanne has set his mind on higher things, for he thinks that, when that place has been occupied, he will keep on still further towards the east, where he will be opposite to an island called Cipango, situated in the equinoctial region, where he believes that all the spices of the world, as well as the jewels, are found. He further says that he was once at Mecca, whither the spices are brought by caravans from distant countries; and having inquired from whence they were brought and where they grow, they answered that they did not know, but that such merchandize was brought from distant countries by other caravans to their home; and they further say that they are also conveyed from other remote regions. And he adduced this argument, that if the eastern people tell those in the south that these things come from a far distance from them, presupposing the rotundity of the earth, it must be that the last turn would be by the north towards the west; and it is said that in this way the route would not cost more than it costs now, and I also believe it. And what is more, this Majesty, who is wise and not prodigal, reposes such trust in him because of what he has already achieved, that he gives him a good maintenance, as Messer Zoanne has himself told me. And it is said that before long his Majesty will arm some ships for him, and will give him all the malefactors to go to that country and form a colony, so that they hope to establish a greater depot of spices in London than there is in Alexandria. The principal people in the enterprise belong to

Bristo. They are great seamen, and, now that they know where to go, they say that the voyage thither will not occupy more than 15 days after leaving Ibernia. I have also spoken with a Burgundian, who was a companion of Messer Zoanne, who affirms all this, and who wishes to return because the Admiral (for so Messer Zoanne is entitled) has given him an island, and has given another to his barber of Castione,* who is a Genoese, and both look upon themselves as Counts; nor do they look upon my Lord the Admiral as less than a Prince. I also believe that some poor Italian friars are going on this voyage, who have all had bishopricks promised to them. And if I had made friends with the Admiral when he was about to sail, I should have got an archbishoprick at least; but I have thought that the benefits reserved for me by your Excellency will be more secure. I would venture to pray that, in the event of a vacancy taking place in my absence, I may be put in possession, and that I may not be superseded by those who, being present, can be more diligent than I, who am reduced in this country to eating at each meal ten or twelve kinds of victuals, and to being three hours at table every day, two for love of your Excellency, to whom I humbly recommend myself. London, 18 Dec. 1497, your Excellency's most humble servant,

RAIMUNDUS.

Despatch from Ruy Gonzalez de Puebla to the Catholic Sovereign.†

25TH JULY, 1498.

The King of England sent five armed ships with another Genoese like Columbus ‡ to search for the island of Brasil, and others near it. They were victualled for a year. They say that they will be back in September. By the direction they take, the land they seek must be the possession of your Highnesses. The King has sometimes spoken to me about it, and seems to take very great interest in it. I believe that the distance from here is not 400 leagues.

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* Perhaps Castiglione, near Chiavari.

† Public Record Office.

‡ This is the first time that the name of Columbus is mentioned in a document coming from England.—*Harrisse*.

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*Despatch from Pedro de Ayala to the Catholic Sovereigns.**
(*Extract from a long Despatch on several subjects.*)

25th JULY, 1498.

I well believe that your Highnesses have heard how the King of England has equipped a fleet to discover certain islands and mainland that certain persons who set out last year for the same have testified that they have found. I have seen the chart which the discoverer has drawn, who is another Genoese like Columbus, and has been in Seville and in Lisbon, procuring to find those who would help him in this enterprise. It is seven years since those of Bristol used to send out, every year, a fleet of two, three, or four *caravels* to go and seek for the isle of Brasil and the seven cities, according to the fancy of this Genoese. The king determined to despatch an expedition, because he had the certainty that they had found land last year. The fleet consisted of 5 ships provisioned for one year. News has come that one, on board of which there was one friar Buil, has returned to Ireland in great distress, having been driven back by a great storm.

The Genoese went on his course. I, having seen the course and distance he takes, think that the land they have found or seek is that which your Highnesses possess, for it is at the end of that which belongs to your Highnesses by the convention with Portugal. It is hoped that they will return by September. I send the knowledge of it to your Highnesses. The King of England has spoken to me about it several times, and he thinks that your Highnesses will take great interest in it. I believe the distance is not 400 leagues. And I told him that I thought they were the islands discovered by your Highnesses, and I even gave him a reason; but he would not hear it. As I believe that your Highnesses now have intelligence of all, as well as the chart or mappe-monde that this Genoese has made, I do not send it now, though I have it here; and to me it seems very false to give out that they are not the said islands.

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* Public Record Office, *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), i. p. 176, No. 210. The original despatch was in cipher.

JOHN CABOT'S FIRST EXPEDITION.

From Harrisse's "John Cabot, the Discoverer of North America."

The letters patent of 1496 were granted to John Cabot and his three sons; but no documentary proof whatever has yet been adduced to show that any of them accompanied their father in his first transatlantic voyage. The only circumstance which may be cited on the subject would rather prove the reverse. Pasqualigo, in describing John Cabot's return, says:

> "E ali dato danari fazi bona ziera fino a quel tempo e con so moier venitiana e con so fiolo a Bristo: And [the King] has given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then [the second expedition]; and he is now at Bristol with his Venetian wife, and with his sons."

This sounds as if after his arrival in London he had gone to Bristol to join his wife and children. Still less can it be demonstrated that Sebastian Cabot himself joined the expedition. The belief rests exclusively upon statements from his own lips, made at a time, under circumstances, in a form, and with details which render them very suspicious. Nay, they have been positively denied at least twice in his lifetime, in England as well as in Spain, as we intend to prove in due course.

Meanwhile, in order to determine all the facts known relative to that expedition, it is prudent to limit the inquiry to contemporary authorities. These should be divided into two classes, viz.: the evidence furnished by witnesses who obtained or may have obtained their information from John Cabot himself; and the evidence supplied, directly or indirectly, by his son Sebastian.

The first class of data — that is, which emanates from John Cabot — comprises three documents:

1. An extract from a letter addressed from London, August 23rd, 1497, by Lorenzo Pasqualigo to his brothers at Venice.
2. A despatch sent from London, August 24th, 1497, by Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan.
3. Another despatch from and to the same parties, London, December 18th, 1497.

The second class of documents consists of the evidence supplied directly by Sebastian Cabot. It comprises the following:

1. A description given by Pietro Martire d' Anghiera (usually called simply "Peter Martyr"), in his third Decade.
2. An account from some anonymous informer, usually designated as "the Mantuan Gentleman," who furnished it to Ramusio.
3. An engraved map dated 1544, bearing on its face a legend to the effect that it is the work of Sebastian Cabot.

According to Peter Martyr and the Mantuan Gentleman, who obtained their information from Sebastian Cabot in person, and to Gomara and Galvâo, both of whom, however, have simply copied Peter Martyr, the first expedition was composed of two ships, with a crew of three hundred men.

The letters patent of 1496 authorized the employment of five ships, equipped at the cost of the grantees:

> "Five ships of what burthen or quality soeuer they be, and as many mariners or men as they will have with them in the sayd ships, vpon their owne proper costs and charges."

But we have the positive statements of Lorenzo Pasqualigo and Raimondo di Soncino, who repeat what they themselves heard John Cabot say in London, immediately upon his return in the first week of August, 1497, that he accomplished his discovery with only one ship, "con uno naviglio de Bristo," which is even reported by them to have been a small craft, with a crew of but eighteen men: "cum uno piccolo naviglio e xviii persone." It is true that an English chronicle written soon after, and which we propose to discuss at length further on, says that with the ship, stated therein to have been equipped by the King, went three or four Bristol vessels sent by English merchants. But we expect to demonstrate that these details refer only to the second voyage (1498).

As we have just said, the expedition consisted of only "one small ship manned by eighteen men, nearly all Englishmen from Bristol: uno piccolo naviglo e xviii persone, quasi tutti inglesi, e da Bristol."

We do not possess the date when John Cabot sailed out of

Bristol. The words "departed from the West Cuntrey in the begynnyng of somer," in the Cottonian manuscript, and "departed from Bristowe in the beginning of May," in Hakluyt, after Fabyan, which we once thought applied to the voyage of 1497, concern only the expedition of 1498. But as Pasqualigo, when describing, on the 23rd of August 1497, the arrival in England of John Cabot, which had just taken place, says that the voyage lasted three months, "e stato mexi tre sul viazo," we must infer that he set sail about the middle of May, 1497. This date coincides to some degree with the expression of Soncino, who, writing August 24th, 1497, says: "They sailed from Bristol, a western port of this kingdom, a few months since: Partitisi da Bristo porto occidentale de questo regno, sono mesi passate."

When the vessel had reached the west coast of Ireland, it sailed towards the north, then to the east (*sic pro* west), when, after a few days, the North star was to the right: "Passato Ibernia più occidentale, e poi alzatosi verso el septentrione, commenciò ad navigare ale parte orientale, lassandosi (fra qualche giorni) la tramontana ad mano drita."

After sailing for seven hundred (or only four hundred) leagues, they reached the mainland: "dice haver trovato lige 700 lontana de qui terra ferma," says Pasqualigo. "Lontane da linsula de Ingilterra lege 400 per lo camino de ponente," reports Soncino.

Technically speaking, all that geographers can infer from those details is that Cabot's landfall was north of 51° 15′ north latitude; this being that of the southern extremity of Ireland. Ireland, however, extends to 55° 15′ lat. N. From what point between these two latitudes did he sail westward? Supposing that it was Valencia, and that he continued due west, he would have sighted Belle Isle or its vicinity. But Cabot is said positively to have altered his course and stood to the northward. How far, and where did he again put his vessel on the western tack? We are unable to answer this important question, and can only put forward suppositions based upon the following data:

The place where he landed was the mainland: "captioe in terra ferma."

He then sailed along the coast 300 leagues: "andato per la costa lige 300."

As to the country visited, we find it described as being perfect and temperate: "terra optima et temperata." It is supposed to yield Brazil-wood and silk: "estimanno che vi nasca el brasilio e le sete," whilst the sea bathing its shores is filled with fishes: "quello mare è coperto de pessi."

The country is inhabited by people who use snares to catch game, and needles for making nets: "certi lazi ch' era tesi per prender salvadexine, e uno ago da far rede e a trovato certi albori tagiati."

The waters (tides) are slack, and do not rise as they do in England: "le aque e stanche e non han corso come aqui."

Barring the gratuitous supposition about the existence of dye-wood (unless it be sumach), and silk, and taking into consideration that the country was discovered in summer, Cabot's description could apply to the entire northern coast of America.

The same may be said concerning the remark about slack tides. It was natural that John Cabot should have been surprised at seeing tides which rise only from two and three quarters to four feet, whilst in the vicinity of Bristol they rise from thirty-six to forty feet; but this diminutiveness is peculiar to the entire coast from Nova Scotia to Labrador.

There is another detail, however, which is of importance. Cabot on his return saw two islands to starboard: "ale tornar aldreto a visto do ixole."

Those two islands were unknown before, and are very large and fertile: "due insule nove grandissime et fructiffere." The existence of islands in that vicinity is further confirmed by the fact that Cabot gave one to a native of Burgundy who was his companion, and another to his barber: "uno Borgognone compagno di mess. Zoanne . . . li ha donato una isola; et ne ha donato una altra ad suo barbero."

What were these large islands? This question we propose to examine later.

"La è terra optima et temperata."

The headlands clad in the pale green of mosses and shrubs may have conveyed at a distance to a casual observer the idea of fertility. As to the climate, it was in June and July that Cabot visited those regions. Now, in Labrador, "summer is brief, but lovely" [*Encyclopedia Britannica*].

He did not see any inhabitant, and therefore we have no specific details enabling us to identify the race of men who inhabited the country. But the needle for making nets, and the snares for catching game, indicate the regular occupation of the Eskimo, whose proper home is from Cape Webeck to Cape Chudleigh; whilst the ingenuity which the making of such implements presupposes agrees perfectly with that race said "to have been able in the manufacture of their tools to develop mechanical skill far surpassing that of savages more favourably situated." Nor should we forget "that, judging from the traditions, they must have maintained their present characteristic language and mode of life for at least 1,000 years." The Eskimos of Cabot's time may therefore be judged by those of to-day.

But there is a circumstance in John Cabot's conversation with the Milanese ambassador which is still more convincing. It is evident that the Venetian adventurer and his companions were greatly struck with the enormous quantity of fish which they found in that region. It surpassed anything of the kind they had ever seen, even in the Icelandic sea, where cod was then marvellously plentiful. He dwells at length and with evident complacency on that fortunate peculiarity:

> "Quello mare è coperto de pessi li quali se prendenno non solo cum la rete, ma cum le ciste, essendoli alligato uno saxo ad ciò che la cista se impozi in laqua. . . . dicono che portaranno tanti pessi che questo regno non havera più bisogno de Islanda, del quale paese vene una grandissima mercantia de pessi che si chiamanno stochfissi: That sea is covered with fishes, which are taken not only with the net, but also with a basket, in which a stone is put so that the basket may plunge into water. . . . They say that they will bring thence such a quantity of fish that England will have no further need of Iceland, from which a very great commerce of fish called stockfish is brought."

It is clear that the existence of vast quantities of cod is a circumstance which is applicable to the entire transatlantic coast north of New England. Yet, however plentiful that species of fish may be on the banks of Newfoundland, the quantity is surpassed near the entrance of Hudson Strait. Modern explorers report that there cod and salmon "form in many places a living mass, a vast ocean of living slime, which accumulates on the banks of Northern Labrador"; and the spot noted for its "amazing quantity of fish" is the vicinity of Cape Chudleigh, which the above details and other reasons seem to indicate as the place visited by John Cabot in 1497.

"Sometimes in Wagner's musical dramas the introduction of a few notes from some leading melody foretells the inevitable catastrophe toward which the action is moving, as when in Lohengrin's bridal chamber the well-known sound of the distant Grail motive steals suddenly upon the ear, and the heart of the rapt listener is smitten with a sense of impending doom. So in the drama of maritime discovery, as glimpses of new worlds were beginning to reward the enterprising crowns of Spain and Portugal, for a moment there came from the North a few brief notes fraught with ominous portent. The power for whom destiny had reserved the world empire of which these Southern nations — so noble in aim, so mistaken in policy — were dreaming stretched forth her hand in quiet disregard of papal bulls, and laid it upon the western shore of the ocean. It was only for a moment, and long years were to pass before the consequences were developed. But in truth the first fateful note that heralded the coming English supremacy was sounded when John Cabot's tiny craft sailed out from the Bristol Channel on a bright May morning of 1497.—*John Fiske*, "*The Discovery of America*."

"In the year 1497 a Venetian citizen, called Giovanni Caboto, having obtained letters-patent from Henry VII. the year previous for a voyage of discovery, crossed the Atlantic Ocean, and, under the British flag, discovered the continent of North America. In 1498 he fitted out in Bristol a new expedition, and again sailed westward; but scarcely anything further is known of that enterprise.

"Caboto had a son named Sebastian, born in Venice, who lived in England not less than sixteen years, and then removed to Spain, where in 1518 Charles V. appointed him Pilot-Major. This office he held for thirty years. In 1526 Sebastian was authorized to take command of a Spanish expedition intended for 'Tharsis and Ophir,' but which instead went to La Plata, and proved disastrous. After his return to Seville he was invited in 1547 by the counsellors of Edward VI. to England, and again settled in that country. Seven years afterwards he prepared the expeditions of Willoughby and Chancelor and of Stephen Burroughs in search of a north-east passage to Cathay. He finally died in London, after 1557, at a very advanced age, in complete obscurity."

Such is the summing up by Henry Harrisse of the bare facts concerning John and Sebastian Cabot which may be relied upon. Harrisse's opinion, based on evidence carefully presented in his book on "John Cabot, the Discoverer of North America, and Sebastian his Son," is that John Cabot was, like Columbus, a native of Genoa. His opinion, based chiefly on the celebrated chart of Juan de la Cosa, also is that in his second voyage (1498) John Cabot followed the coast south from Newfoundland to Florida. The exact place of Cabot's landfall in his first voyage, and its exact time in the year 1497, are matters of controversy. Some think the place was Cape Breton, some Newfoundland, some Labrador.

Harrisse's book upon the Cabots is the most critical, thorough, and important. In the collection of "Documents relating to the Voyages of John Cabot," appended by Clements R. Markham to his edition of the "Journal of Christopher Columbus" (London, The Hakluyt Society, 1893), most of the important original documents are included. This is the text used for the present leaflet. A full "Syllabus of the Original Contemporary Documents which refer to the Cabots, to their Lives and to their Voyages," is appended to Harrisse's book. Mr. George Parker Winship has published a volume of "Cabot Bibliography," which is a most scholarly and exhaustive work, leaving nothing unnoticed: it contains a valuable introductory essay on the careers of the Cabots. The chapter on the voyages of the Cabots, in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," is by Charles Deane. There is no better brief survey, and the bibliographical notes are of the highest value. "Cabot's Discovery of North America," by G. E. Weare, is a scholarly book; and the work by Francesco Tarducci should be consulted. There are valuable essays and addresses by Dr. Moses Harvey, of Newfoundland, Elizabeth Hodges, of Bristol, Justin Winsor, and others.

In the passage from Harrisse's book, reprinted in the preceding pages, the first class of data for the first voyage of John Cabot is said to comprise three documents,—the letter of Pasqualigo and the two despatches of Soncino. These are given in the present leaflet, together with the extracts from the despatches of Puebla, the Spanish ambassador in London, and Ayala, his adjunct in the embassy, both written in July, 1498, just after the second expedition had sailed, and the latter containing an express reference to the expedition of the year before. Old South Leaflet No. 37 contains the various documents relating to the voyages of the Cabots which were gathered by Hakluyt and published in his "Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation," in 1589.

In the year 1897, the fourth centennial of Cabot's discovery was observed by the dedication at Bristol of a great memorial tower; and the accounts of this Bristol observance should be consulted. There was an important commemoration by the Royal Society of Canada at Halifax, a full account of which, together with valuable papers upon Cabot by S. E. Dawson and others, may be found in the Proceedings of the Society for 1897. The quadricentennial was also observed by the Maine Historical Society at Brunswick, and in the society's collections for 1897 are published five scholarly papers there presented: "John Cabot and his Discoveries," by James Phinney Baxter; "The Landfall of Cabot and the Extent of his Discoveries," by Professor William Macdonald; "The Dawn of Western Discovery," by Professor J. W. Black; "The Cartography of the Period," by Rev. Henry S. Burrage; and "The Value and Significance of Cabot's Discovery to the World," by Professor John S. Sewall. Rev. E. G. Porter's article on "The Cabot Celebrations of 1897," in the *New England Magazine* for February, 1898, is a comprehensive summary, and contains valuable illustrations.

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Sir Francis Drake on the California Coast.

FROM "THE WORLD ENCOMPASSED BY SIR FRANCIS DRAKE."

From *Guatulco* we departed the day following, viz., *Aprill* 16, [1579] setting our course directly into the sea, whereon we sayled 500 leagues in longitude, to get a winde: and betweene that and *June* 3, 1400 leagues in all, till we came into 42 deg. of North latitude, where in the night following we found such alteration of heate, into extreame and nipping cold, that our men in generall did grieuously complaine thereof, some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby; neither was it that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it not onely the markes, but the stings and force of the night going before, to the great admiration of vs all; for besides that the pinching and biting aire was nothing altered, the very roapes of our ship were stiffe, and the raine which fell was an vnnatural congealed and frozen substance, so that we seemed rather to be in the frozen Zone then any way so neere vnto the sun, or these hotter climates.

Neither did this happen for the time onely, or by some sudden accident, but rather seemes indeed to proceed from some ordinary cause, against the which the heate of the sun preuailes not; for it came to that extremity in sayling but 2 deg. farther to the Northward in our course, that though sea-men lack not good stomaches, yet it seemed a question to many amongst vs, whether their hands should feed their mouthes, or rather keepe themselues within their couerts from the pinching cold that did benumme them. Neither could we impute it to the tendernesse of our bodies, though we came lately from the extremitie of heate, by reason whereof we might be more sensible of the present cold: insomuch as the dead and sencelesse creatures were as well affected with it as ourselues: our meate, as soone as it was remooued from the fire, would presently in a manner be frozen vp, and our ropes and tackling in few dayes were growne to that stiffnesse, that what 3 men afore were able with them to performe, now 6 men, with their best strength and vttermost endeauour, were hardly able to accomplish: whereby a sudden and great discouragement seased vpon the mindes of our men, and they were possessed with a great mislike and doubting of any good to be done that way; yet would not our General be discouraged, but as wel by comfortable speeches, of the diuine prouidence, and of God's louing care ouer his children, out of the Scriptures, as also by other good and profitable perswasions, adding thereto his own cheerfull example, he so stirred them vp to put on a good courage, and to quite themselues like men, to indure some short extremity to haue the speedier comfort, and a little trouble to obtaine the greater glory, that eury man was throughly armed with willingnesse and resolued to see the uttermost, if it were possible, of what good was to be done that way.

The land in that part of America, bearing farther out into the West then we before imagined, we were neerer on it than wee were aware; and yet the neerer still wee came vnto it, the more extremitie of cold did sease vpon vs. The 5 day of *Iune*, wee were forced by contrary windes to runne in with the shoare, which we then first descried, and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best roade we could for the present meete with, where wee were not without some danger by reason of the many extreme gusts and flawes that beate vpon vs, which if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission there followed most uile, thicke, and stinking fogges, against which the sea preuailed nothing, till the gusts of wind againe remoued them, which brought with them such extremity and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them.

In this place was no abiding for vs; and to go further North, the extremity of the cold (which had now vtterly discouraged our men) would not permit vs; and the winds directly bent against vs, hauing once gotten vs vnder sayle againe, commanded vs to the Southward whether we would or no.

From the height of 48 deg., in which now we were, to 38, we found the land, by coasting alongst it, to bee but low and reasonable plaine; euery hill (whereof we saw many, but none verie high), though it were in *June*, and the sunne in his neerest approch vnto them, being couered with snow.

In 38 deg. 30 min. we fell with a conuenient and fit harborough, and *June* 17 came to anchor therein, where we continued till the 23 day of *July* following. During all which time, notwithstanding it was in the height of summer, and so neere the sunne, yet were wee continually visited with like nipping colds as we had felt before; insomuch that if violent exercises of our bodies, and busie employment about our necessarie labours, had not sometimes compeld us to the contrary, we could very well haue been contented to haue kept about us still our winter clothes; yea (had our necessities suffered vs) to haue kept our beds; neither could we at any time, in whole fourteene dayes together, find the aire so cleare as to be able to take the height of sunne or starre.

And here, hauing so fit occasion (notwithstanding it may seeme to be besides the purpose of writing the history of this our voyage), we will a little more diligently inquire into the causes of the continuance of the extreame cold in these parts, as also into the probabilities or vnlikelihoods of a passage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly beene touched) the tendernesse of our bodies, comming so lately out of the heate, whereby the poores were opened, that made vs so sensible of the colds we here felt: in this respect, as in many others, we found our God a prouident Father and carefull Physitian for vs. We lacked no outward helpes nor inward comforts to restore and fortifie nature, had it beene decayed or weakened in vs; neither was there wanting to vs the great experience of our Generall, who had often himselfe proued the force of the burning Zone, whose aduice alwayes preuailed much to the preseruing of a moderate temper in our constitutions; so that euen after our departure from the heate wee alwayes found our bodies, not as sponges, but strong and hardned, more able to beare out cold, though we came out of excesse of heate, then a number of chamber champions could haue beene, who lye on their feather beds till they go to sea, or rather, whose teeth in a temperate aire do beate in their heads at a cup of cold sack and sugar by the fire.

And that it was not our tendernes, but the very extremitie of the cold itselfe that caused this sensiblenes in vs, may the rather appeare, in that the naturall inhabitants of the place (with whom we had for a long season familiar intercourse, as is to be related), who had neuer beene acquainted with such heate, to whom the countrey, ayre, and climate was proper, and in whom custome of cold was as it were a second nature; yet vsed to come shiuering to vs in their warme furres, crowding close together, body to body, to receiue heate one of another, and sheltring themselues vnder a lee bancke, if it were possible, and as often as they could labouring to shroude themselues vnder our garments also to keepe them warme. Besides, how vnhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth it selfe! shewing trees without leaues, and the ground without greennes in those moneths of *June* and *July*. The poore birds and foules not daring (as we had great experience to obserue it), not daring so much as once to arise from their nests after the first egge layed, till it, with all the rest, be hatched and brought to some strength of nature, able to helpe itselfe. Onely this recompence hath nature affoorded them, that the heate of their owne bodies being exceeding great, it perfecteth the creature with greater expedition, and in shorter time then is to be found in many places.

As for the causes of this extremity, they seeme not to be so deeply hidden but that they may, at least in part, be guessed at. The chiefest of which we conceiue to be the large spreading of the Asian and American continent, which (somewhat Northward of these parts), if they be not fully ioyned, yet seeme they to come very neere one to the other. From whose high and snow-couered mountaines, the North and North-west winds (the constant visitants of those coasts) send abroad their frozen nimphes, to the infecting the whole aire with this insufferable sharpnesse: not permitting the Sunne, no, not in the pride of his heate, to dissolve that congealed matter and snow, which they haue breathed out so nigh the Sunne, and so many degrees distant from themselues. And that the North and North-west winds are here constant in *June* and *July*, as the North wind alone is in *August* and *September*, we not onely found it by our owne experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion thereof, by the continued obseruations of the Spaniards. Hence comes the generall squalidnesse and barrennesse of the countrie; hence comes it, that in the middest of their summer, the snow hardly departeth euen from their very doores, but is neuer taken away from their hils at all; hence come those thicke mists and most stinking fogges, which increase so much the more, by how much higher the pole is raised: wherein a blind pilot is as good as the best director of a course. For the Sunne striuing to performe his naturall office, in eleuating the vapors out of these inferior bodies, draweth necessarily abundance of moisture out of the sea; but the nipping cold (from the former causes) meeting and opposing the sunnes indeuour, forces him to giue ouer his worke imperfect; and instead of higher eleuation, to leaue in the lowest region, wandring vpon the face of the earth and waters as it were a second sea, through which its owne beames cannot possibly pierce, vnlesse sometimes when the sudden violence of the winds doth helpe to scatter and breake through it; which thing happeneth very seldome, and when it happeneth is of no continuance. Some of our mariners in this voyage had formerely beene at Wardhouse, in 72 deg. of North latitude, who yet affirmed that they felt no such nipping cold there in the end of the summer, when they departed thence, as they did here in those hottest moneths of *June* and *July*.

And also from these reasons we coniecture, that either there is no passage at all through these Northerne coasts (which is most likely), or if there be, that yet it is vnnauigable. Adde hereunto, that though we searched the coast diligently, euen vnto the 48 deg., yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the East, but rather running on continually North-west, as if it went directly to meet with Asia; and euen in that height, when we had a franke winde to haue carried vs through, had there beene a passage, yet we had a smoothe and calme sea, with ordinary flowing and reflowing, which could not haue beene had there beene a frete; of which we rather infallibly concluded, then coniectured, that there was none. But to returne.

The next day, after our comming to anchor in the aforesaid harbour, the people of the countrey shewed themselues, sending off a man with great expedition to vs in a canow. Who being yet but a little from the shoare, and a great way from our ship, spake to vs continually as he came rowing on. And at last at a reasonable distance staying himselfe, he began more solemnely a long and tedious oration, after his manner: vsing in the deliuerie thereof many gestures and signes, mouing his hands, turning his head and body many wayes; and after his oration ended, with great shew of reuerence and submission returned backe to shoare againe. He shortly came againe the second time in like manner, and so the third time, when he brought with him (as a present from the rest) a bunch of feathers, much like the feathers of a blacke crow, very neatly and artificially gathered vpon a string, and drawne together into a round bundle; being verie cleane and finely cut, and bearing in length an equall proportion one with another; a speciall cognizance (as wee afterwards obserued) which they that guard their kings person weare on their heads. With this also he brought a little basket made of rushes, and filled with an herbe which they called *Tabáh.* Both which being tyed to a short rodde, he cast into our boate. Our Generall intended to haue recompenced him immediatly with many good things he would haue bestowed on him; but entring into the boate to deliuer the same, he could not be drawne to receiue them by any meanes, saue one hat, which being cast into the water out of the ship, he tooke vp (refusing vtterly to meddle with any other thing, though it were vpon a board put off vnto him) and so presently made his returne. After which time our boate could row no way, but wondring at vs as at gods, they would follow the same with admiration.

The 3 day following, uiz., the 21, our ship hauing receiued a leake at sea, was brought to anchor neerer the shoare, that, her goods being landed, she might be repaired; but for that we were to preuent any danger that might chance against our safety, our Generall first of all landed his men, with all necessary prouision, to build tents and make a fort for the defence of our selues and goods: and that wee might vnder the shelter of it with more safety (what euer should befall) end our businesse; which when the people of the countrey perceiued vs doing, as men set on fire to war in defence of their countrie, in great hast and companies, with such weapons as they had, they came downe vnto vs, and yet with no hostile meaning or intent to hurt vs: standing, when they drew neere, as men rauished in their mindes, with the sight of such things as they neuer had seene or heard of before that time: their errand being rather with submission and feare to worship vs as Gods, then to haue any warre with vs as with mortall men. Which thing, as it did partly shew itselfe at that instant, so did it more and more manifest itself afterwards, during the whole time of our abode amongst them. At this time, being willed by signes to lay from them their bowes and arrowes, they did as they were directed, and so did all the rest, as they came more and more by companies vnto them, growing in a little while to a great number, both of men and women.

To the intent, therefore, that this peace which they themselues so willingly sought might, without any cause of the breach thereof on our part given, be continued, and that wee might with more safety and expedition end our businesses in quiet, our Generall, with all his company, vsed all meanes possible gently to intreate them, bestowing vpon each of them liberally good and necessary things to couer their nakednesse; withall signifying vnto them we were no Gods, but men, and had neede of such things to couer our owne shame; teaching them to vse them to the same ends, for which cause also wee did eate and drinke in their presence, giuing them to vnderstand that without that wee could not liue, and therefore were but men as well as they.

Notwithstanding nothing could perswade them, nor remoue that opinion which they had conceiued of vs, that wee should be Gods.

In recompence of those things which they had receiued of vs, as shirts, linnen cloth, etc., they bestowed vpon our Generall, and diuerse of our company, diuerse things, as feathers, cawles of networke, the quiuers of their arrowes, made of fawne skins, and the very skins of beasts that their women wore vpon their bodies. Hauing thus had their fill of this times visiting and beholding of vs, they departed with ioy to their houses, which houses are digged round within the earth, and haue from the vppermost brimmes of the circle clefts of wood set vp, and ioyned close together at the top, like our spires on the steeple of a Church; which being couered with earth, suffer no water to enter, and are very warme; the doore in the most part of them performes the office also of a chimney to let out the smoake: its made in bignesse and fashion like to an ordinary scuttle in a ship, and standing slopewise: their beds are the hard ground, onely with rushes strewed vpon it, and lying round about the house, haue their fire in the middest, which by reason that the house is but low vaulted, round, and close, giueth a maruelous reflexion to their bodies to heate the same.

Their men for the most part goe naked; the women take a kinde of bulrushes, and kembing it after the manner of hemp, make themselues thereof a loose garment, which being knitte about their middles, hanges downe about their hippes, and so affordes to them a couering of that which nature teaches should be hidden; about their shoulders they weare also the skin of a deere, with the haire vpon it. They are very obedient to their husbands, and exceeding ready in all seruices; yet of themselues offring to do nothing, without the consents or being called of the men.

As soone as they were returned to their houses, they began amongst themselues a kind of most lamentable weeping and crying out; which they continued also a great while together, in such sort that in the place where they left vs (being neere about 3 quarters of an English mile distant from them) we very plainely, with wonder and admiration, did heare the same, the women especially extending their voices in a most miserable and dolefull manner of shreeking.

Notwithstanding this humble manner of presenting themselues, and awfull demeanour vsed towards vs, we thought it no wisedome too farre to trust them (our experience of former Infidels dealing with vs before, made vs carefull to prouide against an alteration of their affections or breach of peace if it should happen), and therefore with all expedition we set vp our tents, and intrenched ourselues with walls of stone; that so being fortified within ourselues, we might be able to keepe off the enemie (if they should so proue) from comming amongst us without our good wills: this being quickly finished, we went the more cheerefully and securely afterward about our other businesse.

Against the end of two daies (during which time they had not againe beene with vs), there was gathered together a great assembly of men, women, and children (inuited by the report of them which first saw vs, who, as it seems, had in that time of purpose dispersed themselues into the country, to make knowne the newes), who came now the second time vnto vs, bringing with them, as before had beene done, feathers and bagges of *Tobàh* for presents, or rather indeed for sacrifices, vpon this perswasion that we were gods.

When they came to the top of the hill, at the bottom whereof wee had built our fort, they made a stand; where one (appointed as their chiefe speaker) wearied both vs his hearers, and himselfe too, with a long and tedious oration; deliuered with strange and violent gestures, his voice being extended to the vttermost strength of nature, and his wordes falling so thicke one in the necke of another, that he could hardly fetch his breath againe: as soone as he had concluded, all the rest, with a reuerend bowing of their bodies (in a dreaming manner, and long producing of the same) cryed *Oh:* thereby giuing their consents that all was very true which he had spoken, and that they had vttered their minde by his mouth vnto vs; which done, the men laying downe their bowes vpon the hill, and leauing their women and children behinde them, came downe with their presents; in such sort as if they had appeared before a God indeed, thinking themselues happy that they might haue accesse vnto our Generall, but much more happy when they sawe that he would receiue at their hands those things which they so willingly had presented: and no doubt they thought themselues neerest vnto God when they sate or stood next to him. In the meane time the women, as if they had beene desperate, vsed vnnatural violence against themselues, crying and shrieking piteously, tearing their flesh with their nailes from their cheekes in a monstrous manner, the blood streaming downe along their brests, besides despoiling the vpper parts of their bodies of those single couerings they formerly had, and holding their hands aboue their heads that they might not rescue their brests from harme, they would with furie cast themselues vpon the ground, neuer respecting whether it were cleane or soft, but dashed themselues in this manner on hard stones, knobby hillocks, stocks of wood, and pricking bushes, or whateuer else lay in their way, itterating the same course againe and againe; yea women great with child, some nine or ten times each, and others holding out till 15 or 16 times (till their strengths failed them) exercised this cruelty against themselues: a thing more grieuous for vs to see or suffer, could we haue holpe it, then trouble to them (as it seemed) to do it. This bloudie sacrifice (against our wils) beeing thus performed, our Generall, with his companie, in the presence of those strangers, fell to prayers; and by signes in lifting vp our eyes and hands to heauen, signified vnto them that that God whom we did serue, and whom they ought to worship, was aboue: beseeching God, if it were his good pleasure, to open by some meanes their blinded eyes, that they might in due time be called to the knowledge of him, the true and euerliuing God, and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, the saluation of the Gentiles. In the time of which prayers, singing of Psalmes, and reading of certaine Chapters in the Bible, they sate very attentiuely: and obseruing the end at euery pause, with one voice still cried, Oh, greatly reioycing in our exercises. Yea they tooke such pleasure in our singing of Psalmes, that whensoeuer they resorted to vs, their first request was commonly this, *Gnaáh*, by which they intreated that we would sing.

Our Generall hauing now bestowed vpon them diuers things, at their departure they restored them all againe, none carrying with him anything of whatsoeuer hee had receiued, thinking themselues sufficiently enriched and happie that they had found so free accesse to see vs.

Against the end of three daies more (the newes hauing the while spread itselfe farther, and as it seemed a great way vp into the countrie), were assembled the greatest number of people which wee could reasonably imagine to dwell within any conuenient distance round about. Amongst the rest the king himselfe, a man of a goodly stature and comely personage, attended with his guard of about 100 tall and warlike men, this day, viz., *June* 26, came downe to see vs.

Before his comming, were sent two embassadors or messengers to our Generall, to signifie that their *Hióh*, that is, their king, was comming and at hand. They in the deliuery of their message, the one spake with a soft and low voice, prompting his fellow; the other pronounced the same, word by word, after him with a voice more audible, continuing their proclamation (for such it was) about halfe an houre. Which being ended, they by signes made request to our Generall, to send something by their hands to their *Hióh* or king, as a token that his comming might be in peace. Our Generall willingly satisfied their desire; and they, glad men, made speedy returne to their *Hióh*. Neither was it long before their king (making as princely a shew as possibly he could) with all his traine came forward.

In their comming forwards they cryed continually after a singing manner, with a lustie courage. And as they drew neerer and neerer towards vs, so did they more and more striue to behaue themselues with a certaine comelinesse and grauity in all their actions.

In the forefront came a man of a large body and goodly aspect, bearing the Septer or royall mace, made of a certaine kind of blacke wood, and in length about a yard and a halfe, before the king. Whereupon hanged two crownes, a bigger and a lesse, with three chaines of a maruellous length, and often doubled, besides a bagge of the herbe *Tabáh.* The crownes were made of knitworke, wrought vpon most curiously with feathers of diuers colours, very artificially placed, and of a formall fashion. The chaines seemed of a bony substance, euery linke or part thereof being very little, thinne, most finely burnished, with a hole pierced through the middest. The number of linkes going to make one chaine, is in a manner infinite; but of such estimation it is amongst them, that few be the persons that are admitted to weare the same; and euen they to whom its lawfull to use them, yet are stinted what number they shall vse, as some ten, some twelue, some twentie, and as they exceed in number of chaines, so thereby are they knowne to be the more honorable personages.

Next vnto him that bare this Scepter, was the king himselfe with his guard about him; his attire vpon his head was a cawle of knitworke, wrought vpon somewhat like the crownes, but differing much both in fashion and perfectnesse of worke; vpon his shoulders he had on a coate of the skins of conies, reaching to his wast; his guard also had each coats of the same shape, but of other skins; some hauing cawles likewise stucke with feathers, or couered ouer with a certaine downe, which groweth vp in the countrey vpon an herbe much like our lectuce, which exceeds any other downe in the world for finenesse, and beeing layed vpon their cawles, by no winds can be remoued. Of such estimation is this herbe amongst them, that the downe thereof is not lawfull to be worne, but of such persons as are about the king (to whom also it is permitted to weare a plume of feathers on their heads, in signe of honour), and the seeds are not vsed but onely in sacrifice to their gods. After these, in their order, did follow the naked sort of common people, whose haire being long, was gathered into a bunch behind, in which stucke plumes of feathers; but in the forepart onely single feathers like hornes, euery one pleasing himselfe in his owne deuice.

This one thing was obserued to bee generall amongst them all, that euery one had his face painted, some with white, some blacke, and some with other colours, euery man also bringing in his hand one thing or other for a gift or present. Their traine or last part of their company consisted of women and children, each woman bearing against her breast a round basket or two, hauing within them diuers things, as bagges of *Tobâh*, a roote which they call *Petáh*, whereof they make a kind of meale, and either bake it into bread, or eate it rawe; broyled fishes, like a pilchard; the seede and downe aforenamed, with such like.

Their baskets were made in fashion like a deep boale, and though the matter were rushes, or such other kind of stuffe, yet was it so cunningly handled, that the most part of them would hold water: about the brimmes they were hanged with peeces of the shels of pearles, and in some places with two or three linkes at a place, of the chaines forenamed: thereby signifying that they were vessels wholly dedicated to the onely vse of the gods they worshipped; and besides this, they were wrought vpon with the matted downe of red feathers, distinguished into diuers workes and formes.

In the meane time, our Generall hauing assembled his men together (as forecasting the danger and worst that might fall out) prepared himselfe to stand vpon sure ground, that wee might at all times be ready in our owne defence, if any thing should chance otherwise than was looked for or expected.

Wherefore euery man being in a warlike readinesse, he marched within his fenced place, making against their approach a most warlike shew (as he did also at all other times of their resort), whereby if they had beene desperate enemies, they could not haue chosen but haue conceiued terrour and fear, with discouragement to attempt anything against vs, in beholding of the same.

When they were come somewhat neere vnto vs, trooping together, they gaue vs a common or generall salutation, obseruing in the meane time a generall silence. Whereupon, he who bare the Scepter before the king, being prompted by another whom the king assigned to that office, pronounced with an audible and manly voice what the other spake to him in secret, continuing, whether it were his oration or proclamation, at the least halfe an houre. At the close whereof there was a common *Amen*, in signe of approbation, giuen by euery person: and the king himselfe, with the whole number of men and women (the little children onely remaining behind) came further downe the hill, and as they came set themselues againe in their former order.

And beeing now come to the foot of the hill and neere our fort, the Scepter bearer, with a composed countenance and stately carriage began a song, and answerable thereunto obserued a kind of measures in a dance: whom the king with his guard and euery other sort of person following, did in like manner sing and daunce, sauing onely the women, who danced but kept silence. As they danced they still came on: and our Generall perceiuing their plaine and simple meaning, gaue order that they might freely enter without interruption within our bulwarke. Where, after they had entred, they yet continued their song and dance a reasonable time, their women also following them with their wassaile boales in their hands, their bodies bruised, their faces torne, their dugges, breasts, and other parts bespotted with bloud, trickling downe from the wounds, which with their nailes they had made before their comming.

After that they had satisfied, or rather tired themselues in this manner, they made signes to our Generall to haue him sit down; unto whom both the king and diuers others made seuerall orations, or rather, indeed, if wee had vnderstood them, supplications, that hee would take the Prouince and kingdome into his hand, and become their king and patron: making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title in the whole land, and become his vassals in themselues and their posterities: which that they might make vs indeed beleeue that it was their true meaning and intent, the king himselfe, with all the rest, with one consent and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, set the crowne vpon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offering vnto him many other things, honoured him by the name of *Hyóh*. Adding thereunto (as it might seeme) a song and dance of triumph; because they were not onely visited of the gods (for so they still iudged vs to be), but the great and chiefe God was now become their God, their king and patron, and themselues were become the onely happie and blessed people in the world.

These things being so freely offered, our Generall thought not meet to reiect or refuse the same, both for that he would not giue them any cause of mistrust or disliking of him (that being the onely place, wherein at this present, we were of necessitie inforced to seeke reliefe of many things), and chiefely for that he knew not to what good end God had brought this to passe, or what honour and profit it might bring to our countrie in time to come.

Wherefore, in the name and to the vse of her most excellent maiesty, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignity of the sayd countrie into his hand; wishing nothing more than that it had layen so fitly for her maiesty to enioy, as it was now her proper owne, and that the riches and treasures thereof (wherewith in the vpland countries it abounds) might with as great conueniency be transported, to the enriching of her kingdome here at home, as it is in plenty to be attained there; and especially that so tractable and louing a people as they shewed themselues to be, might haue meanes to haue manifested their most willing obedience the more vnto her, and by her meanes, as a mother and nurse of the Church of *Christ*, might by the preaching of the Gospell, be brought to the right knowledge and obedience of the true and euerliuing God.

The ceremonies of this resigning and receiuing of the kingdome being thus performed, the common sort, both of men and women, leauing the king and his guard about him, with our Generall, dispersed themselues among our people, taking a diligent view or suruey of euery man; and finding such as pleased their fancies (which commonly were the youngest of vs), they presently enclosing them about offred their sacrifices vnto them, crying out with lamentable shreekes and moanes, weeping and scratching and tearing their very flesh off their faces with their nailes; neither were it the women alone which did this, but euen old men, roaring and crying out, were as violent as the women were.

We groaned in spirit to see the power of Sathan so farre preuaile in seducing these so harmlesse soules, and laboured by all meanes, both by shewing our great dislike, and when that serued not, by violent withholding of their hands from that madnesse, directing them (by our eyes and hands lift vp towards heauen) to the liuing God whom they ought to serue; but so mad were they vpon their Idolatry, that forcible withholding them would not preuaile (for as soone as they could get liberty to their hands againe, they would be as violent as they were before) till such time, as they whom they worshipped were conueyed from them into the tents, whom yet as men besides themselues, they would with fury and outrage seeke to haue againe.

After that time had a little qualified their madnes, they then began to shew and make knowne vnto vs their griefes and diseases which they carried about them; some of them hauing old aches, some shruncke sinewes, some old soares and canchred vlcers, some wounds more lately receiued, and the like; in most lamentable manner crauing helpe and cure thereof from vs; making signes, that if we did but blowe vpon their griefes, or but touched the diseased places, they would be whole.

Their griefes we could not but take pitty on them, and to our power desire to helpe them: but that (if it pleased God to open their eyes) they might vnderstand we were but men and no gods, we vsed ordinary meanes, as lotions, emplaisters, and vnguents, most fitly (as farre as our skills could guesse) agreeing to the natures of their griefes, beseeching God, if it made for his glory, to giue cure to their diseases by these meanes. The like we did from time to time as they resorted to vs.

Few were the dayes, wherein they were absent from vs, during the whole time of our abode in that place; and ordinarily euery third day they brought their sacrifices, till such time as they certainely vnderstood our meaning, that we tooke no pleasure, but were displeased with them; whereupon their zeale abated, and their sacrificing, for a season, to our good liking ceased; notwithstanding they continued still to make their resort vnto vs in great abundance, and in such sort, that they oft-time forgate to prouide meate for their owne sustenance; so that our Generall (of whom they made account as of a father) was faine to performe the office of a father to them, relieuing them with such victualls as we had prouided for our selues, as Muscles, Seales, and such like, wherein they tooke exceeding much content; and seeing that their sacrifices were displeasing to vs, yet (hating ingratitude) they sought to recompence vs with such things as they had, which they willingly inforced vpon vs, though it were neuer so necessarie or needfull for themselues to keepe.

They are a people of a tractable, free, and louing nature, without guile or treachery; their bowes and arrowes (their only weapons, and almost all their wealth) they vse very skillfully, but yet not to do any great harme with them, being by reason of their weakenesse more fit for children then for men, sending the arrowes neither farre off nor with any great force: and yet are the men commonly so strong of body, that that which 2 or 3 of our men could hardly beare, one of them would take vpon his backe, and without grudging carrie it easily away, vp hill and downe hill an English mile together: they are also exceeding swift in running, and of long continuance, the vse whereof is so familiar with them, that they seldome goe, but for the most part runne. One thing we obserued in them with admiration, that if at any time they chanced to see a fish so neere the shoare that they might reach the place without swimming, they would neuer, or very seldome, misse to take it.

After that our necessary businesses were well dispatched, our Generall, with his gentlemen and many of his company, made a iourny vp into the land, to see the manner of their dwelling, and to be the better acquainted with the nature and commodities of the country. There houses were all such as we haue formerly described, and being many of them in one place, made seuerall villages here and there. The inland we found to be farre different from the shoare, a goodly country, and fruitfull soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the vse of man: infinite was the company of very large and fat Deere which there we sawe by thousands, as we supposed, in a heard; besides a multitude of a strange kinde of Conies, by farre exceeding them in number: their heads and bodies, in which they resemble other Conies, are but small; his tayle, like the tayle of a Rat, exceeding long; and his feet like the pawes of a Want or moale; vnder his chinne, on either side, he hath a bagge, into which he gathereth his meate, when he hath filled his belly abroade, that he may with it, either feed his young, or feed himselfe when he lists not to trauaile from his burrough; the people eate their bodies, and make great account of their skinnes, for their kings holidaies coate was made of them.

This country our Generall named *Albion*, and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white bancks and cliffes, which lie toward the sea; the other, that it might haue some affinity, euen in name also, with our own country, which was sometime so called.

Before we went from thence, our Generall caused to be set vp a monument of our being there, as also of her maiesties and successors right and title to that kingdome; namely, a plate of brasse, fast nailed to a great and firme poste; whereon is engrauen her graces name, and the day and yeare of our arriuall there, and of the free giuing vp of the prouince and kingdome, both by the king and people, into her maiesties hands: together with her highnesse picture and armes, in a piece of sixpence currant English monie, shewing itselfe by a hole made of purpose through the plate; vnderneath was likewise engrauen the name of our Generall, etc.

The Spaniards neuer had any dealing, or so much as set a foote in this country, the vtmost of their discoueries reaching onely to many degrees Southward of this place.

And now, as the time of our departure was perceiued by them to draw nigh, so did the sorrowes and miseries of this people seeme to themselues to increase vpon them, and the more certaine they were of our going away, the more doubtfull they shewed themselues what they might doe; so that we might easily iudge that that ioy (being exceeding great) wherewith they receiued vs at our first arriuall, was cleane drowned in their excessiue sorrow for our departing. For they did not onely loose on a sudden all mirth, ioy, glad countenance, pleasant speeches, agility of body, familiar reioycing one with another, and all pleasure what euer flesh and blood might bee delighted in, but with sighes and sorrowings, with heauy hearts and grieued minds, they powred out wofull complaints and moanes, with bitter teares and wringing of their hands, tormenting themselues. And as men refusing all comfort, they onely accounted themselues as cast-awayes, and those whom the gods were about to forsake: so that nothing we could say or do, was able to ease them of their so heauy a burthen, or to deliuer them from so desperate a straite, as our leauing of them did seeme to them that it would cast them into.

Howbeit, seeing they could not still enioy our presence, they (supposing vs to be gods indeed) thought it their duties to intreate vs that, being absent, we would yet be mindfull of them, and making signes of their desires that in time to come wee would see them againe, they stole vpon vs a sacrifice, and set it on fire erre we were aware, burning therein a chaine and a bunch of feathers. We laboured by all meanes possible to withhold or withdraw them, but could not preuaile, till at last we fell to prayers and singing of Psalmes, whereby they were allured immediatly to forget their folly, and leaue their sacrifice vnconsumed, suffering the fire to go out; and imitating vs in all our actions, they fell a lifting of their eyes and hands to heauen, as they saw vs do.

The 23 of *July* they tooke a sorrowfull farewell of vs, but being loath to leaue vs, they presently ranne to the top of the hils to keepe vs in their sight as long as they could, making fires before and behind, and on each side of them, burning therein (as is to be supposed) sacrifices at our departure.

DRAKE'S DEPARTURE FROM CALIFORNIA.

From Corbett's "Drake and the Tudor Navy."

"On July 23 the English finally put to sea, and the last sight they had of their worshippers was crowding the hill-tops and making fires, as though by a parting sacrifice to implore their divine guests not to leave them forever. So was sought to be established the first of those protectorates upon which so large a part of the British Empire has been built. Though it was destined to go no further, there can be small doubt that Drake believed he had laid the foundations in America of a New England which was to rival New Spain. To a man so deeply impressed as he was with the cruelty of the Spaniards' native policy, it was perfectly natural that the Californians should wish to become the vassals of a monarch who could protect them. It was but the feudal process of commendation, and there is no reason to doubt he really took the native overtures to be what he represented them. Were this the only episode of its kind that occurred during the voyage, it would be enough to raise him out of the ranks of the pirates and buccaneers in which too often he has been made to stand. The space that is devoted to it in the Authorized Narrative is evidence of the importance he attached to his treaty. This alone should have been enough to suggest that, however much he desired wealth, however much he sought to be revenged on Don Martin Enriquez, it was the real ambition of the man, as sincerely as it was Frobisher's, to be the leader of English colonial expansion, and to stand in the eyes of his country as Cortez and the Conquistadores stood in the eyes of Spain. His gospel was to teach that what Spain had done England could do and do better. In his own time he was not understood except by few, and so was looked upon askance as a pirate or little better, as he is to this day. The 'spacious times' of Elizabeth is a phrase that with cloying reiteration is used whenever Drake's name is mentioned. The truth is, it was still a narrow time, that cramped the men of broad ideas. The spacious times were not till Elizabeth was dead, and the peace gave England time to grasp the ideas of Drake and Frobisher, to realize their vision of a New England in the West, and to dream of a vast empire in the East with Madagascar for its seat and centre."

ZARATE'S DESCRIPTION OF DRAKE.

Don Francisco de Zarate was the commander of a Spanish ship captured by Drake just before he reached Guatulco.

"The general of the Englishmen is a cousin of Juan Aquines. He is the same who five years ago took Nombre de Dios. He must be a man of about thirty-five years, short, with a ruddy beard, one of the greatest mariners there are on the sea alike from his skill and his power of command. His ship is a galleon of about four hundred tons, a very fast sailer, and there are aboard her a hundred men, all skilled hands and of warlike age, and all so well trained that they might be old soldiers of the Italian tertias. Every one is specially careful to keep his harquebuss clean. He treats them with affection, and they him with respect. He carries with him nine or ten gentlemen, cadets of high families in England. These are members of his council, and he calls them together upon all occasions, however simple, and although he takes counsel from no one, he is pleased to hear their opinions before issuing his orders. He has no favorite (*privado*). These of whom I speak are admitted to his table, as well as a Portuguese pilot whom he brought from England. This man never spoke a word the whole time I was there. He is served with much plate with gilt borders and tops and engraved with his arms, and has all possible kinds of delicacies and scents, many of which he says the Queen gave him. None of the gentlemen sit or cover in his presence, without first being ordered once and even several times. The galleon carries about thirty pieces of heavy ordnance and a large quantity of fireworks, and a great deal of ammunition and other necessaries. They dine and sup to the music of violins; and he carries all the appliances of carpenters and caulkers, so as to careen his ship when there is occasion. His ship is not only of the latest type, but sheathed. I understand that all the men he carries are paid, because when they plundered our ship nobody dared take anything without his orders. He keeps very strict discipline, and punishes the slightest fault. He has painters, too, who sketch all the coast in its proper colours. This troubled me to see most of all, because it was so true to nature, that whosoever follows him can by no means lose his way. I heard that he started from his country with five ships and four sea-going shallops, and that the half of the squadron was the Queen's; and I understand this is so, for the reasons I shall give your Excellency."

Sir Francis Drake set sail from Plymouth, England, on his famous voyage around the world, November 15, 1577, with five ships and about one hundred and sixty men. His own ship, of one hundred tons, was called the "Pelican"; but at the Straits of Magellan her name was changed to the "Golden Hind." The Straits of Magellan were reached August 20, 1578; and seventeen days were occupied in the passage through to the Pacific. The following months were spent in preying upon the Spanish ports and Spanish ships along the west coast of South America; and early in March, 1579, separated from his other ships, Drake in the "Golden Hind" was at Cape San Francisco, just north of the equator. He set forward March 7, and on April 15 ran in to the harbor of Guatulco, a small port of Guatemala, for supplies. "And now having reasonably, as we thought, provided ourselves, we departed from the coast of America for the present." Here the passage begins which is printed in the present leaflet. The passage is from the famous account of the voyage entitled "The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake," prepared under the direction of the admiral's heir and nephew from the notes of Francis Fletcher, the chaplain on Drake's ship, and "divers others his followers in the same." It was published in London in 1628,—"offered now at last to publique view, both for the honour of the actor, but especially for the stirring up of *heroick spirits, to benefit their countrie, and eternize their names by like noble attempts*."

At Cape San Francisco, Drake seems to have decided to get back to England by circumnavigating North America, entering the western end of the "northwest passage," the eastern outlet of which Frobisher supposed he had already found. It was with this in view that he pushed up the California coast; and only when he found the effort vain did he strike across the Pacific to the Philippines, the Indian Ocean, and the Cape of Good Hope, thus sailing completely round the globe. On the 26th of September, 1580, "we safely, with joyful minds and thankful hearts to God, arrived at Plimoth, the place of our first setting forth, after we had spent 2 yeares 10 moneths and some few odde daies beside, in seeing the wonders of the Lord in the deep, in discovering so many admirable things, in going through with so many strange adventures, in escaping out of so many dangers, and overcoming so many difficulties in this our encompassing of this neather globe, and passing round about the world."

It is most interesting to us that Drake, in this famous voyage of circumnavigation, should have explored the western coast of the present United States, and named it Albion. Only once, if ever, before — when in 1542 Cabrillo had explored the coast — had Europeans been seen in Northern California. Drake may have sailed as far north as Vancouver, when the fogs and the cold drove him back, and he took refuge for a month or more in a bay which some believe to have been San Francisco harbor, but which Professor Davidson of the United States Coast Survey, who has studied the subject most critically, locates a little above that. Rev. E. E. Hale, who wrote the admirable chapter on Hawkins and Drake in the "Narrative and Critical History of America" vol. iii., believes that the "convenient and fit harbor," the "fair and good bay" of the narrative, is that of San Francisco. "I do not hesitate to say that I believe it will prove that Drake repaired his ships in San Francisco Bay, and that this bay took its name not indirectly from Francis of Assisi, but from the bold English explorer who had struck terror to all the western coast of New Spain." "There is reason," says Burney, "to conclude that the *Port of Drake* was that which is now known by the name of *Port San Francisco*. . . . Allowing them to be the same, it is remarkable that both the most northern and the most southern ports at which Drake anchored in the course of his voyage should afterwards by the Spaniards, doubtless without any intended reference to the name of Francis Drake, be named *San Francisco*."

"The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake," and several other contemporary accounts of the voyage of circumnavigation, have been gathered into a single volume, critically edited, with notes and introduction, by W. S. W. Vaux, published by the Hakluyt Society (London, 1854). The most complete and scholarly life of Drake is that in two volumes by Julian S. Corbett, who is also the author of the little volume on Drake in the "English Men of Action" series. There is an excellent older biography by Barrow. See also Bourne's "English Seamen under the Tudors," Froude's "English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century," Markham's "Sea Fathers," Southey's "English Seamen," and Payne's "Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen." The valuable article on Drake in the "Dictionary of National Biography" is by Professor J. K. Laughton.

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Frobisher's First Voyage.

FROM THE "TRUE DISCOURSE," BY GEORGE BESTE.

The colde regions of the worlde are those whiche, tending towarde the pole artike and antartike, are withoute the circuit or bounds of the seaven climates, which, agreeable to the opinion of the olde writers, is founde and sette out in our authore of the *Sphere*, Joannes de Sacrobosco, where he playnely sayeth, that without the seaventh climate, which is bounded by a parallel passing at fiftie degrees in latitude, all the habitation beyonde that to be discommodious and intollerable : but Gemma Phrisius, a late writer, finding England and Scotland to be withoute the compasse of those climates wherein he knew to be very temperate and good habitation, added thereunto two other climates, the uttermost paralell whereof passeth by 56 degrees in latitude, and therein comprehendeth over and above the first computation, England, Scotland, Denmarke, Moscovia, etc., which all are rich and mightie kingdomes.

The old writers, perswaded by bare conjecture, went aboute to determine of those places, by comparing them to their own complexions, bycause they felt them to be hardly tolerable to themselves, and so toke thereby an argument of the whole habitable earth, as if a man borne in Morochus, or other part of Barbarie, should at the latter end of sommer, upon the suddayne, eyther naked, or wyth hys thinne vesture, be broughte into England, he would judge this region presently not to be habitable, bycause he being broughte up in so warme a countrey, is not able heere to live, for so sodaine an alteration of the cold ayre ; but if the same man hadde come at the beginning of sommer, and so afterwarde by little and little by certaine degrees, had felt and acquainted himselfe with the frost of autumne, it would have seemed by degrees to harden him, and so to make it far more tollerable, and by use after one yeere or two, the ayre woulde seeme to hym more temperate. It was compted a greate matter in the olde time, that there was a brasse pot broken in sunder with frozen water in *Ponthus*, which after was broughte and shewed in *Delphis*, in token of a miraculous cold region and winter, and therefore consecrated to the Temple of Apollo.

This effect being wroghte in the paralell of 48 degrees in latitude, it was presentlye compted a place verye hardlye and uneasily to be inhabited for the greate colde. And howe then can suche men define uppon other regions very farre without that paralell, wh'er they were inhabited or not, seeing that in so neare a place they so grossely mistooke the matter, and others their followers being contented with the inventions of the olde authors, have persisted willingly in the same opinion, with more confidence than consideration of the cause, so lightly was that opinion received, as touching the unhabitable clime neare and under the Poles.

Therefore I am at this present to prove y^t all the land lying betweene the laste climate even unto the point directly under either Poles, is or maye be inhabited, especially of suche creatures as are ingendred and bredde therein. For indeed it is to be confessed, that some particular living creature cannot live in every particular place or region, especially wyth the same joy and felicitie, as it did where it was first bredde, for the certane agreement of nature that is betweene the place, and the thing bredde in that place, as appeareth by the elephant, which being translated and brought out of the second or third climate, though they may live, yet will they never ingender or bring forth yong. Also wee see the like in many kinds of plants and hearbs: for example, the orange tree, although in Naples they bring forth fruit abundantly, in Rome and Florence they will beare onlye faire greene leaves, but not any fruite: and translated into England, they will hardly beare either flowers, fruite, or leaves, but are the next winter pinched and withered with colde: yet it followeth not for this, that England, Rome, and Florence should not be habitable.

In the proving of these colde regions habitable, I shall be verye shorte, bicause the same reasons serve for this purpose, which were alleaged before in the proving the middle zone to be temperate, especially seeing all heate and colde proceede from the sunne, by the meanes eyther of the angle his beames doeth make with the horizon, or else by yᵉ long or shorte continuance of the sun's presence above ground: so that if the sunnes beames do heate perpendicularlye at righte angles, then there is one cause of heate, and if the sunne doe also long continue above the horizon, then the heate thereby is muche encreased by accesse of this other cause, and so groweth to a kind of extremitie. And these ii causes, as I said before, doe moste concurre under the two tropickes, and therefore there is the greatest heate of yᵉ worlde. And likewise, where both these causes are most absent, there is greatest want of heate, and encrease of colde (seeing that colde is nothing but the privation and absence of heat), and if one cause be wanting and the other present the effect will grow indifferent. Therefore this is to be understanded, that the nearer anye region is to the equinoctiall the higher the sunne doeth rise over their heades at noone, and so maketh either righte or neare righte angles, but the sun tarryeth with them so much the shorter time, and causeth shorter dayes, with longer and colder nights, to restore the domage of the daye paste, by reason of the moisture consumed by vapour. But in such reasons, over the which the sun riseth lower (as in regions extended towardes eyther pole) it maketh there unequall angles, but the sunne continueth longer, and maketh longer dayes, and causeth so much shorter and warmer nights, as retayning warme vapoures of the daye paste. For there are found by experience sommer nights in Scotland and Gothland very hot, when under the equinoctiall they are found very colde. This benefit of the sunnes long continuance and encrease of the day, doth augment so muche the more in colde regions, as they are nearer the poles, and ceaseth not encreasing, until it come directly under the point of the pole articke, where the sunne continueth above grounde the space of sixe moneths or halfe a yeare togither, and so the daye is halfe a yere longe, that is the time of yᵉ suns being in the north signes, from the first degree of Aries until the last of Virgo, that is all the time from our 10 day of March, untill the 14th of September. The sun therefore during the time of these 6 moneths without any offence or hinderaunce of the nighte, gyveth his influence upon those landes with heate that never ceaseth during that time, which maketh to the great increase of sommer, by reason of the sunnes continuance. Therefore it followeth, that though the sunne be not there very high over their heads to cause right angle beams and to give great heate, yet the sun being there sometime almost 24 degrees high, doth caste a convenient and meane heate which there continueth without hinderance of the night the space of six moneths (as is before saide) during whiche time there foloweth to be a convenient moderate and temperate heat, or else rather it is to be suspected the heat there to be very great, both for continuance and also *quia virtus unita crescit*, the vertue and strength of heat united in one encreaseth. If then there be suche a moderate heat under the poles, and the same to continue so long time, what shoulde move the olde writers to saye there cannot be place for habitation. And that the certaintie of this temperate heat under both the poles might more manifestlye appeare, lette us consider the position and qualitie of the sphere, the length of the day, and so to gather the heighte of the sunne at all times, and by consequent the quantitie of his angle, and so lastely the strength of his heate.

Those landes and regions lying under the pole and having the pole for their zenith, muste needes have the equinoctiall circle for their horizon, therefore the sunne entring into the north signes, and describing every 24 houres a paralell to the equinoctiall by the diurnall motion of *Primum Mobile*, the same paralels must needes be wholely above the horizon, and so looke how many degrees there are from the fyrst of Aries to the last of Virgo, so many whole revolutions there are above theyr horizon yt dwell under the pole, whiche amounteth to 182, and so manye of oure dayes the sunne continueth with them. During whych tyme they have there continuall daye and lighte withoute anye hinderaunce of moiste nightes. Yet it is to be noted that the sunne being in the fyrst degree of Aries, and laste degree of Virgo, maketh his revolution in the very horizon, so that in these 24 houres halfe the body of the sunne is above the horizon and the other halfe is under this only center, describing both the horizon and the equinoctiall circle.

And therefore seeing the greatest declination of the sun is almost 24 degrees, it followeth his greatest height in those countries to be almost 24 degrees. And so high is the sun at noone to us in London about ye 29 of October, being in the 15 degree of Scorpio, and likewise the 21 of January being in the 15 of Aquarius. Therefore looke what force the sun at noone hath in London the 29th of October, the same force of heate it hathe, to them that dwell under the pole, the space almost of two moneths, during the time of the sommer *solstitium*, and that without intermingling of any colde night: so that if the heate of the sunne at noone coulde be well measured in London (which is verye harde to do, bycause of the long nights, whiche engender greate moysture and colde), then woulde manifestlye appeare by expresse numbers the maner of the heate under the poles, which certainly must needes be to the inhabitants verye commodious and profitable, if it inclyne not to over much heate, and if moysture do not want.

For as in October in England we find temperate aire, and have in our gardens hearbes and floures notwithstanding our colde nights, how much more shoulde they have y^e^ same good ayre, being continual without night. This heate of ours continueth but one houre while the sunne is in y^e^ meridian, but theirs continueth a long time in one height. This our heate is weake, and by the coolenesse of the night vanisheth; that heate is strong, and by continual accesse is still increased and strengthened. And thus by a similitude of the equal height of the sunne in both places, appeareth the commodious and moderate heate of the regions under the poles.

And surely I can not thinke that the divine providence hath made any thing uncommunicable, but to have given such order to all things that one way or other the same shoulde be emploied, and that every thing and place should be tollerable to the next. But especiallye all things in this lower world be given to man to have dominion and use thereof. Therefore wee neede no longer to doubt of the temperate and commodious habitation under the poles during the tyme of sommer.

And al the controversie consisteth in the winter, for then the sun leaveth those regions, and is no more seene for the space of other sixe months, in the which time al the sunnes course is under their horizon for the space of halfe a yeare, and then those regions (saye some) muste needs be deformed with horible darkenesse and continuall nyghte, whiche maye be the cause that beastes can not seeke theyr foode, and that also the cold should then be intollerable. By which double evils al living creatures should be constrayned to die, and were not able to indure the extremitie and injurie of winter and famine ensuing thereof, but that all things shoulde perish before the sommer folowing, when they should bring forth their broode and yong, and that for these causes y^e^ said clime about the pole shold be desolate and not habitable. To al which objections may be answered in this manner: first, that thoughe the sun be absent from them those five months, yet it followeth not there should be such extreame darkenesse, for as the sunne is departed under their horizon, so is it not farre from them. And not so soone as the sunne falleth, so sodainely commeth the darke night, but the evening doth substitute and prolong the daye a good while after by twilight. After which time the residue of y^e night receiveth light of the moone and starres untill the breake of the day, which giveth also a certaine light before the sunnes rising, so that by these means the nights are seldom dark, which is verified in all parts of the world, but least in the middle zone under the equinoctiall, where the twylights are short and the nights darker than in any other place, bycause the sun goeth under their horizon so deepe, even to their *antipodes*. Wee see in Englande in the sommer nights, when the sun goeth not far under the horizon, that by the light of the moone and stars wee may travel al night, and if occasion were do some other labour also. And there is no man that doubteth whether our cattel can see to feede in y^e nights, seeing wee are so well certified thereof by our experience: and by reason of the sphere, our nights should be darker than any time under the poles.

The astronomers consent that the sun, descending from our upper hemisphere at the 18 paralell under the horizon, maketh an end of twylight, so that at length the darke night ensueth, and that afterward in the morning, the sun approaching againe within as many paralels, doth drive away y^e night by accesse of y^e twylight. Againe, by the position of the sphere under y^e pole, the horizon and the equinoctiall are al one. These revolutions therefore that are paralell to the equinoctiall are also paralel to the horizon, so that the sun descending under y^e horizon, and there describing certain paralels not farre distant, doeth not bringe darke nights to those regions until it come to the paralels distant 18 degrees from y^e equinoctiall, that is, about y^e 21 degree of Scorpio, which wil be about y^e 4 day of our November and after the winter *solstitium*, y^e sun retourning backe againe to y^e 9 degree of Aquarius, whiche wil be aboute y^e 19 of January, during which time only, that is from y^e 4 of November untill the xix day of January, which is about six weeks space, those regions do want y^e commoditie of twylights. Therefore, during y^e time of these said six moneths of darknesse under y^e poles, y^e night is destitute of y^e benefit of y^e sun, and y^e said twilights, only for y^e space of six weeks or thereabout.

And yet neither this time of six weeks is without remedy fro heaven. For ye moone with hir encreased light hathe accesse at that time and illuminateth the moneths, lacking light every one of themselves severally halfe the course of ye moneth, by whose benefite it commeth to passe yt ye night named extreame dark possesseth those regions no longer than one moneth, neither that continually or al at one time, but this also divided into two sorts of shorter nights, of ye which either of them endureth for ye space of 15 dayes, and are illuminate of ye moone accordingly. And this reason is gathered out of the sphere, whereby we may testifie yt the sommers are warme and fruitful, and the winters nights under the pole are tollerable to living creatures. And if it be so that the winter and time of darknes there be very cold, yet hath not nature left them unprovided therefore. For there ye beasts are covered with haire so muche the thicker in how much the vehemencie of cold is greater, by reason whereof the best and richest furres are broughte out of the coldest regions. Also the foules of these cold countries have thicker skins, thicker feathers, and more stored of down than in other hot places. Our Englishmen that travel to S. Nicholas, and go a fishing to Wardhouse, enter far within the circle artike, and so are in the frozen zone; and yet there, as well as in Iseland, and all along those northern seas, they finde the greatest store of the greatest fishes that are, as whales, etc., and also abundance of meane fishes, as herings, coddes, haddockes, brettes, etc., whiche argueth, that the sea as well as the land, maye bee and is well frequented and inhabited in the colde countries.

But some, perhaps, will marvel there should be such temperate places in ye regions aboute ye poles, when at under degrees in latitude, our Captaine Frobisher and his companye were troubled wyth so manye and so great mountaines of fleeting ise, with so great stormes of colde, with such continuall snow on toppes of mountaines, and with such barren soyle, there being neither woodde or trees, but lowe shrubbes, and suche like. To al which objections may be answered thus: — First, those infinite ilandes of ise were engendered and congealed in time of winter, and now by the gret heate of sommer were thawed, and then by ebbes, floudes, windes, and currants, were driven to and fro, and troubled the fleete, so that this is an argument to prove the heat in sommer there to be great, that was able to thaw so monstrous mountaines of ise. As for continuall snow on tops of mountains, it is ther no otherwise than is in the hottest parte of the middle zone, where also lyeth great snowe al the sommer long uppon toppes of mountaines, bycause there is not sufficient space for the sunnes reflection wherby the snowe should be molten. Touching the colde stormy windes, and the barrennesse of the country, it is there, as it is in *Cornwall* and *Devonshire* in England, which parts, thoughe we know to be fruitful and fertile, yet on the north side therof al alongst the coast within seaven or eight myles off the sea, there can neither hedge nor tree grow, althoughe they be diligently by art husbanded and seene unto; and the cause therof are the northerne driving windes, whiche, coming from the sea, are so bitter and sharp, that they kill al y^e^ yong and tender plants, and suffer scarce anything to grow, and so is it in y^e^ ilands of *Meta Incognita*, which are subject most to east and northerne winds, which y^e^ last were choked up y^e^ passage so with ise, that the fleet could hardly recover their port; yet, notwithstanding all the objections that may be, the countrey is habitable, for there are men, women, children, and sundrie kind of beastes in great plentie, as beares, dere, hares, foxes, and dogges: all kind of flying fowles, as duckes, seamews, wilmots, partriches, larkes, crowes, hawkes, and such like, as in the thirde booke you shall understand more at large. Then it appeareth, that not only the middle zone, but also the zones about the poles are habitable, which thing being well considered, and familiarly knowen to our generall Captaine Frobisher, as well for that he is thoroughly furnished of the knowledge of the sphere, and all other skilles apperteyning to the art of navigation, as also for the confirmation he hath of the same by many yeares experience, both by sea and land, and being persuaded of a new and neerer passage to Cataya, than by Capo d'buona Speranza, which the Portugalles yeerly use. He began first with himselfe to devise, and then with his friendes to conferre, and layde a playne platte unto them, that that voyage was not onely possible by the north-weast, but also, as he coulde prove, easie to bee performed. And further, he determined and resolved wyth himselfe, to go make full proofe thereof, and to accomplishe, or bring true certificate of the truth, or else never to retourne againe, knowing this to be the onely thing of the worlde that was left yet undone, whereby a notable mind mighte be made famous and fortunate. But although his will were great to performe this notable voyage, whereof hee had conceyved in his mind a great hope, by sundry sure reasons and secret intelligence, whiche heere, for sundry causes, I leave untouched — yet he wanted altogither meanes and abilitie to set forward and performe the same. Long tyme he conferred with his private friendes of these secretes, and made also manye offers for the performing of the same in effect unto sundry merchants of our countrey, above fifteen yeares before he attempted the same, as by good witnesse shall well appeare (albeit some evill willers whiche challenge to themselves the frutes of other mens laboures, have greately injured him in the reportes of the same, saying that they have bin the first authors of that action, and that they have learned him the way, which themselves, as yet, have never gone). But perceyving that hardly he was hearkened unto of the merchants, whiche never regarde vertue withoute sure, certayne, and present gaynes, hee repayred to the courte (from whence, as from the fountaine of oure commonwealth, all good causes have theyr chiefe encrease and mayntenance), and there layde open to manye great estates and learned men, the plot and summe of hys devise. And amongst maney honourable myndes whyche favoured hys honest and commendable enterprise, he was specially bounde and beholdyng to the ryghte honourable Ambrose Dudley, Earle of Warwicke, whose favourable mynde and good disposition, hath alwayes bin readye to countenance and advance all honest actions wyth the authors and executors of the same; and so by meanes of my lorde hys honourable countenance, hee recyved some comforte of hys cause, and by little and little, with no small expense and payne, brought hys cause to some perfection, and hadde drawen togither so many adventurers and suche summes of money as myghte well defray a reasonable charge, to furnishe hymselfe to sea withall.

He prepared two small barkes of twentie and fyve and twentie tunne a peece, wherein hee intended to accomplish his pretended voyage. Wherefore, beeying furnished wyth the forsayde two barkes and one small pinnesse of tenne tunne burthen, havyng therein victuals and other necessaries for twelve monethes provision, he departed uppon the sayde voyage from Blackewall the fiftenth of June, *Anno Domini* 1576.

One of the barkes wherein he wente, was named the Gabriell and the other the Michaell, and sayling north-weast from Englande uppon the firste of July, at length he hadde sighte of a highe and ragged lande, whiche he judged Freeselande (whereof some authours have made mention), but durst not approche the same by reason of the greate store of ise that lay alongst the coast, and the greate mistes that troubled them not a little.

Not farre from thence hee lost companye of his small pinnesse, whiche, by meanes of the greate storme, he supposed to bee swallowed uppe of the sea, wherein he lost onely foure men.

Also the other barke named the Michaell mistrusting the matter, conveyed themselves privilie away from him, and retourned home wyth greate reporte that he was cast awaye.

The worthye captayne, notwithstanding these discomfortes, although his mast was sprung, and his toppe mast blowen overboorde wyth extreame foule weather, continued hys course towardes the north-weast, knowing that the sea at length must needes have an endyng, and that some lande shoulde have a beginning that way; and determined, therefore, at the least, to bryng true proofe what lande and sea the same myght bee, so farre to the northweastwardes, beyonde anye man that hathe heeretofore discovered. And the twentieth of July hee hadde sighte of a highe lande, whyche hee called Queene Elizabeth's Forlande, after hyr Majesties name, and sayling more northerlie alongst the coast he descried another forlande with a greate gutte, bay, or passage, deviding as it were, two maynelands or continents asunder. There he met with store of exceeding great ise al this coast along, and coveting still to continue his course to the northwardes, was alwayes by contrarie winde deteyned overthwarte these straytes, and could not get beyonde. Within few days after he perceyved the ise to be well consumed and gone, eyther there engulfed in by some swifte currants or in draftes caried more to the southwardes of the same straytes, or else conveyed some other way; wherefore he determined to make profe of this place to see how far that gutte had continuance, and whether he mighte carrie himselfe through the same into some open sea on the backe syde, whereof he conceyved no small hope, and so entred the same the one-and-twentieth of July, and passed above fyftie leagues therein, as hee reported, having upon eyther hande a greate mayne or continent; and that land uppon hys right hande as hee sayled westward, he judged to be the continente of Asia, and there to bee devided from the firme of America, whiche lyeth uppon the lefte hande over against the same.

This place he named after his name Frobisher's Streytes, lyke as Magellanus at the south-weast ende of the worlde having discovered the passage to the South Sea (where America is devided from the continente of that lande whiche lyeth under the south pole), and called the same straites Magellanes streightes. After he hadde passed 60 leagues into this foresayde strayte hee wente ashore, and founde signe where fire had bin made.

He saw mightie deere y^t seemed to be mankind, which ranne at him, and hardly he escaped with his life in a narrow way, where he was faine to use defence and policie to save his life.

In this place he saw and perceyved sundry tokens of the peoples resorting thither, and being ashore upon the toppe of a hill, he perceived a number of small things fleeting in the sea afarre off, whyche hee supposed to be porposes or seales, or some kinde of strange fishe; but coming nearer he discovered them to be men in small boates made of leather. And before he could descende downe from the hyll certain of those people had almost cut off his boate from him, having stollen secretly behinde the rocks for that purpose, where he speedily hasted to his boate and bente himselfe to his holberte, and narrowly escaped the daunger and saved his bote. Afterwards he had sundry conferences with them, and they came aborde his ship, and brought him salmon and raw fleshe and fishe, and greedily devoured the same before our mens faces. And to shewe their agilitie, they tryed many maisteries upon the ropes of the ship after our mariners fashion, and appeared to be very strong of theyr armes and nimble of their bodies. They exchaunged coates of seale and beares skinnes, and suche like, with oure men, and received belles, looking-glasses, and other toyes in recompence thereof againe. After great curtesie and many meetings, our mariners, contrarie to theyr captaines dyrection, began more easily to trust them, and five of oure men going ashoare, were by them intercepted with theyr boate, and were never since hearde of to this daye againe. So that the captaine being destitute of boate, barke, and al company, had scarcely sufficient number to conduct back his bark againe. He coulde nowe neither convey himselfe ashore to rescue his men (if he had bin able), for want of a boate; and again, the subtile traytours were so warie as they would after that never come within our mens danger. The captaine, notwithstanding, desirous to bring some token from thence of his being there, was greatly discontented that he had not before apprehended some of them. And therefore to deceive the deceivers he wrought a prettie pollicie, for knowing well how they greatly delighted in our toyes, and specially in belles, he rang a pretie lowbel, making wise that he would give him the same that would come and fetch it. And bycause they would not come within his daunger for feare, he flung one bell unto them, which of purpose he threw short that it might fal into the sea and be lost. And to make them more greedie of the matter he rang a lowder bell, so that in the ende one of them came neare the ship side to receive the bell, which, when he thought to take at the captaine's hand he was thereby taken himself; for the captain being redily provided, let the bel fal and cought the man fast, and plucked him with maine force boate and al into his bark out of the sea. Wherupon, when he founde himself in captivitie, for very choller and disdain, he bit his tong in twayne within his mouth: notwithstanding, he died not therof, but lived untill he came in Englande, and then he died of colde which he had taken at sea.

Nowe with this newe pray (whiche was a sufficient witnesse of the captaines farre and tedious travell towards the unknowne partes of the worlde, as did well appeare by this strange Infidel, whose like was never seen, red, nor harde of before, and whose language was neyther knowne nor understoode of anye) the saide Captaine Frobisher retourned homeward, and arrived in England in August [?] folowing, an. 1576, where he was highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but specially famous for the great hope he brought of the passage to Cataya, which he doubted nothing at all to find and passe through in those parts, as he reporteth.

And it is especially to be remembred at the first arrivall in those partes, there laye so great store of ise all the coaste along so thicke togither, that hardely his boate coulde passe unto the shoare. At lengthe, after diverse attempts, he commaunded his company if by anye possible meanes they could get ashore, to bring him whatsoever thing they could first find, whether it were living or dead, stocke or stone, in token of Christian possession, which thereby he toke in behalfe of the Queenes most excellent Majestie, thinking that therby he might justify the having and enjoying of y^e same things that grew in these unknowne partes.

Some of his companye broughte floures, some greene grasse, and one brought a peece of a blacke stone, much lyke to a seacole in coloure, whiche by the waight seemed to be some kinde of mettall or mynerall. This was a thing of no accompt in the judgement of the captain at the first sight. And yet for novelty it was kept, in respect of the place from whence it came.

After his arrival in London, being demanded of sundrie his friendes what thing he had brought them home of that country, he had nothing left to present them withall but a peece of this black stone. And it fortuned a gentlewoman, one of y^e adventurers wives, to have a peece thereof, which by chance she threw and burned in the fire, so long, that at the length being taken forth and quenched in a little vinegre, it glistered with a bright Marquesset of golde. Whereupon the matter being called in some question, it was brought to certain goldfinders in London to make assay therof, who indeed found it to hold gold, and that very ritchly for the quantity. Afterwards, the same goldfinders promised great matters thereof if there were anye store to be found, and offred themselves to adventure for the serching of those partes from whence the same was brought. Some, that had great hope of the matter, sought secretly to have a lease at hir Majesties hands of those places, whereby to enjoy the masse of so great a publike profit unto their owne private gaines.

In conclusion, the hope of the same golde ore to be founde, kindled a greater opinion in the heartes of many to advaunce the voyage againe. Whereupon preparation was made for a newe voyage against the yeare following, and the captaine more specially directed by commission for the searching more of this golde ore than for the searching any further of the passage. And being wel accompanied with diverse resolute and forward gentlemen, hir Majestie then lying at the right honourable the Lord of Warwicks house in Essex, came to take theyr leaves, and kissing hir highnesse hands, with gracious countenance and comfortable words departed towardes their charge.

EXTRACT FROM BESTE'S DEDICATION TO SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

By this discourse, it may please your Honour to behold the greate industrie of oure present age, and the invincible mindes of our Englishe nation, who have never lefte anye worthy thing unattempted, nor anye parte almoste of the whole world unsearched, whome lately, neyther stormes of seas by long and tedious voyages, danger of darke fogs and hidden rockes in unknown coastes, congealed and frozen seas, with mountains of fleeting ise, nor yet present dayly before their face, coulde anye white dismay, or cause to desiste from intended enterprises ; but rather preferring an honourable death before a shameful retourne, have (notwithstanding the former dangers,) after many perillous repulses, recovered their desired port. So that, if now the passage to CATAYA thereby be made open unto us, (which only matter hytherto hath occupied the finest heades of the world, and promiseth us a more riches by a nearer way than eyther *Spaine* or *Portugale* possesseth) where of the hope (by the good industrie and great attemptes of these men is greatly augmented) or if the golde ore in these new discoveries founde out, doe in goodnesse as in greate plenty aunswere expectation, and the successe do followe as good, as the proofe thereof hitherto made, is great, we may truely infer, that the Englishman in these our dayes, in his notable discoveries, to the Spaniard and Portingale is nothing inferior : and for his hard adventures, and valiant resolutions, greatly superior. For what hath the Spaniarde or Portingale done by the southeast and southweast, that the Englishman by the northeast and northweast hath not countervailed the same ?

And albeit I confesse that the Englishe have not hytherto had so ful successe of profit and commoditie of pleasaunt place (considering that the former nations have happily chanced to travel by more temperate clymates, where they had not onlye good meates and drinkes, but all other things necessarie for the use of man) all whiche things, the English, travelling by more intemperate places, and as it were with mayne force, making waye through seas of ise, have wanted, which notwithstanding argueth a more resolution: for *Difficiliora pulchriora*, that is, the adventure the more hard the more honorable: yet concerning the perfecter knowledge of the world, and geographicall description, (wherein the present age and posteritie also, by a more universal understanding is much furthered, as appeareth by my universall mappe with pricked boundes here annexed) herein, the Englishman deserveth chiefe honour above any other. For neyther Spaniard nor Portugale, nor anye other besides the English, have bin found, by so great dangers of ise, so neare the Pole, to adventure any discoverie, whereby the obscure and unknowen partes of the world (which otherwise had laine hid) have bin made knowen unto us.

So that it may appeare, that by our Englishmen's industries, and these late voyages, the world is grown to a more fulnesse and perfection ; many unknowen lands and ilands, (not so much as thought upon before) made knowen unto us : Christ's name spred : the Gospell preached ; infidels like to be converted to Christiantie, in places where before the name of God had not once bin hearde of : shipping and seafaring men, have bin employed : navigation and the navie (which is the chief strength of our realm) maintayned : and gentlemen in the sea service, for the better service of their country, wel experienced. Al whiche things are (no doubt) of so gret importance, as being wel wayed, may seeme to countervayle the adventures charges : although the passage to CATAYA were not found out, neither yet the golde ore prove good, wher of both the hope is good and gret. But notwithstanding all these, even in this (if no otherwise) hyr most excellent Majestie hath reaped no small profit, that she may now stand assured, to have many more tried, able and sufficient men against time of need, that are (which without vaunt may be spoken) of valour gret, for any great adventure, and of governement good for any good place of service. For this may truly be spoken of these men, that there hath not bin seene in any nation, being so many in number, and so far from home, more civill order, better governement, or agreement. For even from the beginning of the service hitherto, there hath neither passed mutinie, quarrel, or notorious fact, either to the slaunder of the men, or daunger of the voyage, although the gentlemen, souldiers, and marriners (whiche seldome can agree) were by companies matched togither.

But I may perchance (right Honourable) seeme to discourse somewhat too largely, especially in a cause that (as a partie) somewhat concerneth my selfe; which I doe, not for that I doubt of your honorable opinion already conceived of the men, but for that I know, the ignorant multitude is rather ready to slander, than to give good encouragement by due commendation to good causes, who, respecting nothinge but a present gaine, and being more than needefully suspitious of the matter, do therewithall condemne the men, and that without any further respect, either of their honest intents, either of their wel performing the matter they dyd undertake (which according to their direction, was specially to bring home ore) either else of their painful travel (which for their Prince, and the publicke profite of their countries cause they have sustained).

But by the way, it is not unknown to the world, that this our native country of England in al ages hath bred up (and specially at this present aboundeth with) many forward and valiant minds, fit to take in hand any notable enterprise; wherby appeareth, that if the Englishman had bin in times paste as fortunate and foreseeing to accept occasion offered, as he hath bin always forwarde in executing anye cause once taken in hand, he had bin worthily preferred before all nations of the worlde, and the Weast *Indies* had now bin in the possession of the Englishe.

For *Columbus*, the firste Discoverer of the Weast *Indies*, made firste offer thereof, with his service, to King *Henry* the seaventh, then Kyng of Englande, and was not accepted: Whereuppon, for want of entertainement here, hee was forced to go into *Spaine*, and offered there (as before) the same to *Ferdinando*, Kyng of *Castyle*, who presently acceptyng the occasion, did first himselfe, and now his successors, enjoy the benefite thereof.

Also *Sebastian Cabota*, being an Englishman, and born in *Bristowe*, after he had discovered sundrie parts of new found lande, and attempted the passage to Cataya by the Northwest, for the King of England, for lacke of entertainment here, (notwithstanding his good desert) was forced to seeke to the Kinge of Spaine, to whose use hee discovered all that tract of *Brazil*, and about the famous river *Rio de la Plata*, and for the same, and other good services there, was afterwards renowmed, by title of *Piloto Maggiore*, that is Graunde Pylote, and constituted chiefe officer of the Contractation house of Sivilla: in whiche house are handled all matters concerning the Weast Indies, and the revenues thereof; and further that no Pylot shoulde be admitted for any discoverie but by his direction.

But there hath bin two speciall causes in former age, that have greatly hindered the English nation in their attempts. The one hath bin, lacke of liberalitie in the nobilitie, and the other want of skill in the cosmographie, and the arte of navigation. Whiche kinde of knowledge is very necessary for all oure noblemen, for that wee being ilanders, our chiefest strength consisteth by sea. But these twoo causes are nowe in this present age

(God be thanked) very well reformed; for not only hir majestie now, but all the nobilitie also, having perfect knowledge in Cosmographie, doe not only with good wordes countenance the forward minds of men, but also with their purses do liberally and bountifully contribute unto the same, whereby it cometh to passe, that navigation, whiche in the time of King Henry the 7th was very rawe, and toke (as it were) but beginning (and ever since hath had by little and little continuall increase) is now in hir Majestie's raign growen to his highest perfection.

Martin Frobisher was born in Yorkshire about 1535. He was educated in London, went on a voyage to Guinea in 1554, and was engaged in various expeditions from that time on. His public services brought him under the notice of the queen and of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who in 1566 wrote his famous "Discourse to prove a Passage to the North-west," published ten years later. This discourse, while still in manuscript, was the incitement to the first expedition commanded by Frobisher for the discovery of a North-west passage. The chief promoter of the expedition was Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. Frobisher sailed from the Thames with two small barques and a pinnace June 7, 1576, and sighted the southern point of Greenland July 11. He sailed into Frobisher's Bay "above fifty leagues," supposing the land on his right to be Asia and that on the left America. Returning, he reached London in October.

A piece of black pyrite brought home by one of the sailors was pronounced to contain gold; and on his second voyage, the next year, Frobisher was "more specially directed by commission for the searching more of this gold ore than for the searching any further discovery of the passage." Two hundred tons of ore were brought home; but it was pronounced "poor in respect of that brought last year, and that which we know may be brought next year." In May, 1578, Frobisher sailed a third time, with a fleet of fifteen vessels. He landed in the south of Greenland, which he named West England. After losing himself in the "Mistaken Streight" (*i.e.*, Hudson's), and after several weeks of farther explorations, he loaded the soundest vessels with mineral that turned out to be worthless, and returned to England in the autumn.

In 1581 a fourth voyage to Cathay by the north-west was projected, and the command was offered Frobisher; but he relinquished it. He went with Drake to the West Indies as vice-admiral in 1585; and he commanded the "Triumph" in the great Armada fight. He was knighted at sea by the lord high admiral. He served in 1590 with Sir John Hawkins; and in 1592 he was in the service of Sir Walter Raleigh. In 1593 he paid his last visit to his Yorkshire home, where he became a justice of the peace for the West Riding. In the fight at Crozon, near Brest, in 1594, he was wounded; and unskilful surgery led to his death. He died soon after reaching Plymouth, where his entrails were buried in the church of St. Andrew, while his other remains were interred in St. Giles's, Cripplegate, London.

There is no thorough, critical life of Frobisher, like Corbeett's work on Drake. There is a brief biography by Jones; and there are good notices in the various works on the Elizabethan Seamen, by Fox Bourne, Froude, Payne, and others. The admirable article in the "Dictionary of National Biography" is by C. H. Coote. Frobisher's work is also well outlined by Charles C. Smith in the chapter on "Explorations to the North-west" in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. iii.; and the bibliographical notes are good.

George Beste's "True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie for Finding of a Passage to Cathaya, by the North-weast, under the conduct of Martin Frobisher, General" (London, 1578), is the original authority for Frobisher's three voyages. Beste accompanied Frobisher on the second and third voyages. Beste's work was reprinted by Hakluyt; and a fine edition, edited by Collinson, was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1867. This is used for the present leaflet. About one-third of the part devoted to the first voyage is here given, the earlier pages being occupied by a general account of the world at that period.

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No. 118.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Voyage to Newfoundland.

A report of the voyage and successe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583 by sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, with other gentlemen assisting him in that action, intended to discover and to plant Christian inhabitants in place convenient, upon those large and ample countreys extended Northward from the cape of Florida, lying under very temperate Climes, esteemed fertile and rich in Minerals, yet not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, written by M. Edward Haies gentleman, and principal actour in the same voyage, who alone continued unto the end, and by Gods speciall assistance returned home with his retinue safe and entire.

MAny voyages have bene pretended, yet hitherto never any thorowly accomplished by our nation of exact discovery into the bowels of those maine, ample and vast countreys, extended infinitely into the North from 30 degrees, or rather from 25 degrees of Septentrionall latitude, neither hath a right way bene taken of planting a Christian habitation and regiment upon the same, as well may appeare both by the little we yet do actually possesse therein, and by our ignorance of the riches and secrets within those lands, which unto this day we know chiefly by the travell and report of other nations, and most of the French, who albeit they can not challenge such right and interest unto the sayd countreys as we, neither these many yeeres have had opportunity nor meanes so great to discover and to plant (being vexed with the calamnities of intestine warres) as we have had by the inestimable benefit of our long and happy peace: yet have they both waies performed more, and had long since attained a sure possession and settled government of many provinces in those Northerly parts of America, if their many attempts into those forren and remote lands had not bene impeached by their garboils at home.

The first discovery of these coasts (never heard of before) was well begun by Iohn Cabot the father, and Sebastian his sonne, an Englishman borne, who were the first finders out of all that great tract of land stretching from the cape of Florida unto those Islands which we now call the Newfoundland: all which they brought and annexed unto the crowne of England. Since when, if with like diligence the search of inland countreys had bene followed, as the discovery upon the coast, and outparts therof was performed by those two men: no doubt her Maiesties territories and revenue had bene mightily inlarged and advanced by this day. And which is more: the seed of Christian religion had bene sowed amongst those pagans, which by this time might have brought foorth a most plentifull harvest and copious congregation of Christians; which must be the chiefe intent of such as shall make any attempt that way: or els whatsoever is builded upon other foundation shall never obtaine happy successe nor continuance.

And although we can not precisely iudge (which onely belongeth to God) what have bene the humours of men stirred up to great attempts of discovering and planting in those remote countreys, yet the events do shew that either Gods cause hath not bene chiefly preferred by them, or els God hath not permitted so abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to be yet revealed unto those infidels before the appointed time.

But most assuredly, the only cause of religion hitherto hath kept backe, and will also bring forward at the time assigned by God, an effectuall and compleat discovery and possession by Christians both of those ample countreys and the riches within them hitherto concealed: whereof notwithstanding God in his wisdome hath permitted to be revealed from time to time a certaine obscure and misty knowledge, by little and little to allure the mindes of men that way (which els will be dull enough in the zeale of his cause) and thereby to prepare us unto a readinesse for the execution of his will against the due time ordeined, of calling those pagans unto Christianity.

In the meane while, it behooveth every man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of inclination unto this attempt, to examine his owne motions: which if the same proceed of ambition or avarice, he may assure himselfe it commeth not of God, and therefore can not have confidence of Gods protection and assistance against the violence (els irresistable) both of sea, and infinite perils upon the land; whom God yet may use an instrument to further his cause and glory some way, but not to build upon so bad a foundation.

Otherwise, if his motions be derived from a vertuous and heroycall minde, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poore infidels captived by the devill, tyrannizing in most woonderfull and dreadfull maner over their bodies and soules; advancement of his honest and well disposed countreymen, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions: reliefe of sundry people within this realme distressed: all these be honourable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherewith he is well pleased, who will assist such an actour beyond expectation of man. And the same, who feeleth this inclination in himselfe, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confidently repose in the preordinance of God, that in this last age of the world (or likely never) the time is compleat of receiving also these Gentiles into his mercy, and that God will raise him an instrument to effect the same: it seeming probable by event or precedent attempts made by the Spanyards and French sundry times, that the countreys lying North of Florida, God hath reserved the same to be reduced unto Christian civility by the English nation. For not long after that Christopher Columbus had discovered the Islands and continent of the West Indies for Spayne, Iohn and Sebastian Cabot made discovery also of the rest from Florida Northwards to the behoofe of England.

And whensoever afterwards the Spanyards (very prosperous in all their Southerne discoveries) did attempt any thing into Florida and those regions inclining towards the North they proved most unhappy, and were at length discouraged utterly by the hard and lamentable successe of many both religous and valiant in armes, endeavouring to bring those Northerly regions also under the Spanish iurisdiction; as if God had prescribed limits unto the Spanish nation which they might not exceed; as by their owne gests recorded may be aptly gathered.

The French, as they can pretend lesse title unto these Northerne parts then the Spanyard, by how much the Spanyard made the first discovery of the same continent so far Northward as unto Florida, and the French did but review that before discovered by the English nation, usurping upon our right, and imposing names upon countreys, rivers, bayes, capes, or headlands, as if they had bene the first finders of those coasts: which iniury we offered not unto the Spanyards, but left off to discover when we approached the Spanish limits: even so God hath not hitherto permitted them to establish a possession permanent upon anothers right, notwithstanding their manifolde attempts, in which the issue hath bene no lesse tragicall then that of the Spanyards, as by their owne reports is extant.

Then seeing the English nation onely hath right unto these countreys of America from the cape of Florida Northward by the privilege of first discovery, unto which Cabot was authorised by regall authority, and set forth by the expense of our late famous king Henry the seventh: which right also seemeth strongly defended on our behalfe by the powerfull hand of almighty God, withstanding the enterprises of other nations: it may greatly incourage us upon so iust ground, as is our right, and upon so sacred an intent, as to plant religion (our right and intent being meet foundations for the same) to prosecute effectually the full possession of those so ample and pleasant countreys apperteining unto the crowne of England: the same (as is to be coniectured by infallible arguments of the worlds end approching) being now arrived unto the time by God prescribed of their vocation, if ever their calling unto the knowledge of God may be expected. Which also is very probable by the revolution and course of Gods word and religion, which from the beginning hath moved from the East, towards, and at last unto the West, where it is like to end, unlesse the same begin againe where it did in the East, which were to expect a like world againe. But we are assured of the contrary by the prophesie of Christ, whereby we gather, that after his word preached thorowout the world shalbe the end. And as the Gospel when it descended Westward began in the South, and afterward spread into the North of Europe: even so, as the same hath begunne in the South countreys of America, no lesse hope may be gathered that it will also spread into the North.

These considerations may helpe to suppresse all dreads rising of hard events in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heavy successe and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman sir

Humfrey Gilbert knight, who was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and government in those Northerly countreys of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leave unto God, and iudge charitably both of the cause (which was iust in all pretence) and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deserving honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expense of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby neverthelesse, least any man should be dismayd by example of other folks calamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as my selfe was an eye witnesse, to deliver the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so incumbred with wants, and woorse matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare iudgement and regiment premeditated for these affaires, was subiected to tolerate abuses, and in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to upholde credite, then likely in his owne conceit happily to succeed.

The issue of such actions, being alwayes miserable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confusion and disorder, hath left this for admonition (being the first attempt by our nation to plant) unto such as shall take the same cause in hand hereafter not to be discouraged from it: but to make men well advised how they handle his so high and excellent matters, as the carriage of his word into those very mighty and vast countreys. An action doubtlesse not to be intermedled with base purposes; as many have made the same but a colour to shadow actions otherwise scarse iustifiable: which doth excite Gods heavy iudgements in the end, to the terrifying of weake mindes from the cause, without pondering his iust proceedings: and doth also incense forren princes against our attempts how iust soever, who can not but deeme the sequele very dangerous unto their state (if in those parts we should grow to strength) seeing the very beginnings are entred with spoile.

And with this admonition denounced upon zeale towards Gods cause, also towards those in whom appeareth disposition honourable unto this action of planting Christian people and religion in those remote and barbarous nations of America (unto whom I wish all happinesse) I will now proceed to make relation briefly, yet particularly, of our voyage undertaken with sir Humfrey Gilbert, begun, continued, and ended adversly.

When first sir Humfrey Gilbert undertooke the Westerne discovery of America, and had procured from her Maiesty a very large commission to inhabit and possesse at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many privileges, such as in his discretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good estimation drew unto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow unto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a kings power by sea: neverthelesse, amongst a multitude of voluntary men, their dispositions were divers, which bred a iarre, and made a division in the end, to the confusion of that attempt even before the same was begun. And when the shipping was in a maner prepared, and men ready upon the coast to go aboord: at that time some brake consort, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended: Others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leaving the Generall with few of his assured friends, with whom he adventured to sea: where having tasted of no lesse misfortune, he was shortly driven to retire home with the losse of a tall ship, and (more to his griefe) of a valiant gentleman Miles Morgan.*

Having buried onely in a preparation a great masse of substance, wherby his estate was impaired, his minde yet not dismaid he continued his former designment and purpose to revive this enterprise, good occasion serving. Upon which determination standing long, without meanes to satisfy his desire; at last he granted certaine assignments out of his commission to sundry persons of meane ability, desiring the privilege of his rank, to plant and fortifie in the North parts of America about the river of Canada, to whom if God gave good successe in the North parts (where then no matter of moment was expected) the same (he thought) would greatly advance the hope of the South, and be a furtherance unto his determination that way. And the worst that might happen in that course might be excused without preiudice unto him by the former supposition, that those North regions were of no regard: but chiefly a possession taken in any parcell of those heathen countreys, by vertue of his grant, did invest him of territories extending every way two hundred leagues: which induced sir Humfry Gilbert to make those assignments, desiring greatly their expedition, because his commission did expire after six yeres, if in that space he had not gotten actuall possession.

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* This refers to Gilbert's first voyage in 1578.

Time went away without any thing done by his assignes: insomuch that at last he must resolve himselfe to take a voyage in person, for more assurance to keepe his patent in force, which then almost was expired, or within two yeres.

In furtherance of his determination, amongst others, sir George Peckam knight shewed himselfe very zealous to the action, greatly aiding him both by his advice and in the charge. Other gentlemen to their ability ioyned unto him, resolving to adventure their substance and lives in the same cause. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of shipping, munition, victual, men, and things requisit, some of them continued the charge two yeeres compleat without intermission. Such were the difficulties and crosse accidents opposing these proceedings, which tooke not end in lesse then two yeres: many of which circumstances I will omit.

The last place of our assembly, before we left the coast of England, was in Causet bay neere unto Plimmouth: then resolved to put unto the sea with shipping and provision, such as we had, before our store yet remaining, but chiefly the time and season of the yeere, were too farre spent. Neverthelesse it seemed first very doubtfull by what way to shape our course, and to begin our intended discovery, either from the South Northward, or from the North Southward.

The first, that is, beginning South, without all controversie was the likeliest, wherein we were assured to have commodity of the current, which from the cape of Florida setteth Northward, and would have furthered greatly our navigation, discovering from the foresayd cape along towards cape Briton, and all those lands lying to the North.

Also the yere being farre spent, and arrived to the moneth of Iune, we were not to spend time in Northerly courses, where we should be surprised with timely Winter, but to covet the South, which we had space enough then to have attained: and there might with lesse detriment have wintred that season, being more milde and short in the South then in the North where winter is both long and rigorous.

These and other like reasons alleged in favour of the Southerne course first to be taken, to the contrary was inferred: that forasmuch as both our victuals, and many other needfull provisions were diminished and left insufficient for so long a voyage, and for the wintering of so many men, we ought to shape a course most likely to minister supply; and that was to take the Newfoundland in our way, which was but seven hundred leagues from our English coast. Where being usually at that time of the yere, and untill the five of August, a multitude of ships repairing thither for fish, we should be relieved abundantly with many necessaries, which after the fishing ended, they might well spare, and freely impart unto us.

Not staying long upon that Newland coast, we might proceed Southward, and follow still the Sunne, untill we arrived at places more temperate to our content.

By which reasons we were the rather induced to follow this Northerly course, obeying unto necessity, which must be supplied. Otherwise, we doubted that sudden approch of Winter, bringing with it continuall fogge, and thicke mists, tempest and rage of weather; also contrariety of currents descending from the cape of Florida unto cape Briton and cape Rase, would fall out to be great and irresistable impediments unto our further proceeding for that yeere, and compell us to Winter in those North and colde regions.

Wherefore suppressing all obiections to the contrary, we resolved to begin our course Northward, and to follow directly as we might, the trade way unto Newfoundland: from whence after our refreshing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay (by Gods permission) to proceed into the South, not omitting any river or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our view worthy of search. Immediately we agreed upon the maner of our course and orders to be observed in our voyage; which were delivered in writing unto the captaines and masters of every ship a copy in maner following.

Every shippe had delivered two bullets or scrowles, the one sealed up in waxe, the other left open: in both which were included severall watch-words. That open, serving upon our owne coast or the coast of Ireland: the other sealed was promised on all hands not to be broken up untill we should be cleere of the Irish coast; which from thencefoorth did serve untill we arrived and met altogether in such harbors of the Newfoundland as were agreed for our Rendez vouz. The sayd watch-words being requisite to know our consorts whensoever by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet dispersed should come together againe: or one should hale another; or if by ill watch and steerage one ship should chance to fall aboord of another in the darke.

The reason of the bullet sealed was to keepe secret that watch-word while we were upon our owne coast, lest any of the company stealing from the fleet might bewray the same: which knowen to an enemy, he might boord us by night without mistrust, having our owne watch-word.

ORDERS AGREED UPON BY THE CAPTAINES AND MASTERS TO BE OBSERVED BY THE FLEET OF SIR HUMFREY GILBERT.

FIrst the Admirall to cary his flag by day, and his light by night.

2 Item, if the Admirall shall shorten his saile by night, then to shew two lights untill he be answered againe by every ship shewing one light for a short time.

3 Item, if the Admirall after his shortening of saile, as aforesayd, shall make more saile againe: then he to showe three lights one above another.

4 Item, if the Admirall shall happen to hull in the night, then to make a wavering light over his other light, wavering the light upon a pole.

5 Item, if the fleet should happen to be scattered by weather, or other mishap, then so soone as one shall descry another to hoise sailes twise, if the weather will serve, and to strike them twise againe; but if the weather serve not, then to hoise the maine top saile twise, and forthwith to strike it twise againe.

6 Item, if it shall happen a great fogge to fall, then presently every shippe to beare up with the admirall, if there be winde; but if it be a calme, then every ship to hull, and so to lie at hull till it be cleere. And if the fogge do continue long, then the Admirall to shoot off two pieces every evening, and every ship to answere it with one shot: and every man bearing to the ship, that is to leeward so neere as he may.

7 Item, every master to give charge unto the watch to looke out well, for laying aboord one of another in the night, and in fogges.

8 Item, every evening every ship to haile the admirall, and so to fall asterne him sailing thorow the Ocean: and being on the coast, every ship to haile him both morning and evening.

9 Item, if any ship be in danger any way, by leake or otherwise, then she to shoot off a piece, and presently to hang out one light, whereupon every man to beare towards her, answering her with one light for a short time, and so to put it out againe; thereby to give knowledge that they have seene her token.

10 Item, whensoever the Admirall shall hang out her ensigne in the

maine shrowds, then every man to come aboord her, as a token of counsell.

11 Item, if there happen any storme or contrary winde to the fleet after the discovery, whereby they are separated: then every ship to repaire unto their last good port, there to meete againe.

OUR COURSE AGREED UPON.

THe course first to be taken for the discovery is to beare directly to Cape Rase, the most Southerly cape of Newfound land; and there to harbour ourselves either in Rogneux or Fermous, being the first places appointed for our Rendez vous, and the next harbours unto the Northward of cape Rase: and therefore every ship separated from the fleete to repaire to that place so fast as God shall permit, whether you shall fall to the Southward or to the Northward of it, and there to stay for the meeting of the whole fleet the space of ten dayes: and when you shall depart, to leave marks.

A DIRECTION OF OUR COURSE UNTO THE NEWFOUND LAND.

BEginning our course from Silley, the neerest is by West-southwest (if the winde serve) untill such time as we have brought our selves in the latitude of 43 or 44 degrees, because the Ocean is subiect much to Southerly windes in Iune and Iuly. Then to take traverse from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be inforced by contrary windes: and not to go to the Northward of the height of 47 degrees of Septentrionall latitude by no meanes; if God shall not inforce the contrary; but to do your indevour to keepe in the height of 46 degrees, so nere as you can possibly, because cape Rase lieth about that height.

NOTES.

IF by contrary windes we be driven backe upon the coast of England, then to repaire unto Silley for a place of our assembly or meeting.

If we be driven backe by contrary winds that we can not passe the coast of Ireland, then the place of our assembly to be at Beare haven or Baltimore haven.

If we shall not happen to meete at cape Rase, then the place of Rendez vous to be at cape Briton, or the neerest harbour unto the Westward of cape Briton.

If by meanes of other shipping we may not safely stay there, then to rest at the very next safe port to the Westward; every ship leaving their marks behinde them for the more certainty of the after commers to know where to finde them.

The marks that every man ought to leave in such a case, were of the Generals private device written by himselfe, sealed also in close waxe, and delivered unto every shippe one scroule, which was not to be opened untill occasion required, whereby every man was certified what to leave for instruction of after commers: that every of us comming into any harbour or river might know who had bene there, or whether any were still there up higher into the river, or departed, and which way.

Orders thus determined, and promises mutually given to be observed, every man withdrew himselfe unto his charge, the ankers being already weyed, and our shippes under saile, having a soft gale of winde, we began our voyage upon Tuesday the eleventh day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1585, having in our fleet (at our departure from Causet * bay) these shippes, whose names and burthens, with the names of the captaines and masters of them, I have also inserted, as followeth:

1 The Delight alias The George, of burthen 120 tunnes, was Admirall: in which went the Generall, and William Winter captaine in her and part owner, and Richard Clearke master.

2 The Barke Raleigh set forth by M. Walter Raleigh, of the burthen of 200 tunnes, was then Vice-admirall: in which went M. Butler captaine, and Robert Davis of Bristoll master.

3 The Golden hinde, of burthen 40 tunnes, was then Reare-admirall: in which went Edward Hayes captaine and owner, and William Cox of Limehouse master.

4 The Swallow, of burthen 40 tunnes: in her was captaine Maurice Browne.

5 The Squirrill, of burthen 10 tunnes: in which went captaine William Andrewes, and one Cade master.

We were in number in all about 260 men: among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as Shipwrights, Masons, Carpenters, Smithes, and such like, requisite to such an action: also Minerall men and Refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the Savages, we were provided of Musike in good variety: not omitting the least toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horsse, and Maylike conceits to delight the Savage people, whom we intended to winne by all faire meanes possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdasherie wares to barter with those people.

In this maner we set forward, departing (as hath bene said) out of Causon bay the eleventh day of Iune being Tues-

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* Causand.

day, the weather and winde faire and good all day, but a great storme of thunder and winde fell the same night.

Thursday following, when we hailed one another in the evening according (to the order before specified) they signified unto us out of the Vizadmirall, that both the Captaine, and very many of the men were fallen sicke. And about midnight the Vizeadmirall forsooke us, notwithstanding we had the winde East, faire and good. But it was after credibly reported, that they were infected with a contagious sicknesse, and arrived greatly distressed at Plimmoth: the reason I could never understand. Sure I am, no cost was spared by their owner Master Raleigh in setting them forth: Therfore I leave it unto God.

By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little grieved with the losse of the most puissant ship in our fleete: after whose departure, the Golden Hind succeeded in the place of Vizadmirall, and remooved her flagge from the mizon unto the foretop.

From Saturday the 15 of Iune untill the 28, which was upon a Friday, we never had faire day without fogge or raine, and windes bad, much to the West northwest, whereby we were driven Southward unto 41 degrees scarse.

About this time of the yere the winds are commonly West towards the Newfound land, keeping ordinarily within two points of West to the South or to the North, whereby the course thither falleth out to be long and tedious after Iune, which in March, Apriell and May, hath bene performed out of England in 22 dayes and lesse. We had winde alwayes so scant from West northwest, and from West southwest againe, that our traverse was great, running South unto 41 degrees almost, and afterward North into 51 degrees.

Also we were incombred with much fogge and mists in maner palpable, in which we could not keepe so well together, but were dissevered, losing the company of the Swallow and the Squirrill upon the 20. day of Iuly, whom we met againe at severall places upon the Newfound land coast the third of August, as shalbe declared in place convenient.

Saturday the 27 of Iuly, we might descry not farre from us, as it were mountaines of yce driven upon the sea, being then in 50 degrees, which were caried Southward to the weather of us: whereby may be coniectured that some current doth set that way from the North.

Before we come to Newfound land about 50 leagues on this side, we passe the banke,* which are high grounds rising within the sea and under water, yet deepe enough and without danger, being commonly not lesse then 25 and 30 fadome water upon them: the same (as it were some vaine of mountaines within the sea) doe runne along, and from the Newfound land, beginning Northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, and do extend into the South infinitly. The bredth of this banke is somewhere more, and somewhere lesse: but we found the same about 10 leagues over, having sounded both on this side thereof, and the other toward Newfound land, but found no ground with almost 200 fadome of line, both before and after we had passed the banke.† The Portugals, and French chiefly, have a notable trade of fishing upon this banke, where are sometimes an hundred or more sailes of ships: who commonly beginne the fishing in Apriell, and have ended by Iuly. That fish is large, alwayes wet, having no land neere to drie, and is called Corre fish.

During the time of fishing, a man shall know without sounding when he is upon the banke, by the incredible multitude of sea foule hovering over the same, to prey upon the offalles and garbish of fish throwen out by fishermen, and floting upon the sea.

Upon Tuesday the 11 of Iune, we forsooke the coast of England. So againe Tuesday the 30 of Iuly (seven weekes after) we got sight of land, being immediately embayed in the Grand bay, or some other great bay: the certainty whereof we could not iudge, so great hase and fogge did hang upon the coast, as neither we might discerne the land well, nor take the sunnes height. But by our best computation we were then in the 51 degrees of latitude.

Forsaking this bay and uncomfortable coast (nothing appearing unto us but hideous rockes and mountaines, bare of trees, and voide of any greene herbe) we followed the coast to the South, with weather faire and cleare.

We had sight of an Iland named Penguin, of a foule there breeding in abundance, almost incredible, which cannot flie, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much lesse then a goose) and exceeding fat: which the French men use to take without difficulty upon that Iland, and to barrell them up with salt. But for lingering of time we had made us there the like provision.

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* *Marginal note.*— The banke in length unknowen, stretcheth from North into South, in bredth 10. leagues, in depth of water upon it 30. fadome.

† The Newfoundland Banks are rather a submarine Plateau than banks in the ordinary sense. The bottom is rocky, and generally reached at 25 to 95 fathoms: length and breadth about 300 miles: the only shallow region in the Atlantic.

Trending this coast, we came to the Iland called Baccalaos, being not past two leagues from the maine: to the South thereof lieth Cape S. Francis, 5. leagues distant from Baccalaos, between which goeth in a great bay, by the vulgar sort called the bay of Conception. Here we met with the Swallow againe, whom we had lost in the fogge, and all her men altered into other apparell: whereof it seemed their store was so amended, that for ioy and congratulation of our meeting, they spared not to cast up into the aire and overboord, their caps and hats in good plenty. The Captaine albeit himselfe was very honest and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humor and desert: who for the most part were such as had bene by us surprised upon the narrow seas of England, being pirats and had taken at that instant certaine Frenchmen laden, one barke with wines, and another with salt. Both which we rescued, and tooke the man of warre with all her men, which was the same ship now called the Swallow, following still their kind so oft, as (being separated from the Generall) they found opportunitie to robbe and spoile. And because Gods iustice did follow the same company, even to destruction, and to the overthrow also of the Captaine (though not consenting to their misdemeanor) I will not conceale any thing that maketh to the manifestation and approbation of his iudgements, for examples of others, perswaded that God more sharpely tooke revenge upon them, and hath tolerated longer as great outrage in others: by how much these went under protection of his cause and religion, which was then pretended.

Therefore upon further enquiry it was knowen, how this company met with a barke returning home after the fishing with his fraight: and because the men in the Swallow were very neere scanted of victuall, and chiefly of apparell, doubtful withall where or when to find and meete with their Admiral, they besought the captaine they might go aboord this Newlander, only to borrow what might be spared, the rather because the same was bound homeward. Leave given, not without charge to deale favourably, they came aboord the fisherman, whom they rifled of tackle, sailes, cables, victuals, and the men of their apparell: not sparing by torture (winding cords about their heads) to draw out else what they thought good. This done with expedition (like men skilfull in such mischiefe) as they tooke their cocke boate to go aboord their own ship, it was overwhelmed in the sea, and certaine of these men were drowned: the rest were preserved even by those silly soules whom they had before spoyled, who saved and delivered them aboord the Swallow. What became afterward of the poore Newlander, perhaps destitute of sayles and furniture sufficient to carry them home (whither they had not lesse to runne then 700 leagues) God alone knoweth, who tooke vengeance not long after of the rest that escaped at this instant: to reveale the fact, and iustifie to the world Gods iudgements inflicted upon them, as shalbe declared in place convenient.

Thus after we had met with the Swallow, we held on our course Southward, untill we came against the harbor called S. Iohn, about 5 leagues from the former Cape of S. Francis: where before the entrance into the harbor, we found also the Frigate or Squirrill lying at anker. Whom the English marchants (that were and alwaies be Admirals * by turnes interchangeably over the fleetes of fisherman within the same harbor) would not permit to enter into the harbor. Glad of so happy meeting both of the Swallow and Frigate in one day (being Saturday the 3. of August) we made readie our fights, and prepared to enter the harbor, any resistance to the contrarie notwithstanding, there being within of all nations, to the number of 36 sailes. But first the Generall dispatched a boat to give them knowledge of his comming for no ill intent, having Commission from her Maiestie for his voiage he had in hand. And immediately we followed with a slacke gale, and in the very entrance (which is but narrow, not above 2 buts length) the Admirall fell upon a rocke on the larboord side by great oversight, in that the weather was faire, the rocke much above water fast by the shore, where neither went any sea gate. But we found such readinesse in the English Marchants to helpe us in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of boates, which towed off the ship, and cleared her of danger.

Having taken place convenient in the road, we let fall ankers, the Captaines and Masters repairing aboord our Admirall: whither also came immediatly the Masters and owners of the fishing fleete of Englishmen, to understand the

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* *Marginal note.*—English ships are the strongest and Admirals of other fleetes, fishing upon the South parts of Newfound land.

Generals intent and cause of our arrivall there. They were all satisfied when the General had shewed his commission, and purpose to take possession of those lands to the behalfe of the crowne of England, and the advancement of Christian religion in those Paganish regions, requiring but their lawfull ayde for repayring of his fleete, and supply of some necessaries, so farre as might conveniently be afforded him, both out of that and other harbors adioyning. In lieu whereof, he made offer to gratifie them, with any favour and priveledge, which upon their better advise they should demand, the like being not to be obteyned hereafter for greater price. So craving expedition of his demand, minding to proceede further South without long detention in those partes, he dismissed them, after promise given of their best indevour to satisfie speedily his so reasonable request. The marchants with their Masters departed, they caused forthwith to be discharged all the great Ordinance of their fleete in token of our welcome.

It was further determined that every ship of our fleete should deliver unto the marchants and Masters of that harbour a note of all their wants: which done, the ships aswell English as strangers, were taxed at an easie rate to make supply. And besides, Commissioners were appointed, part of our owne companie and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adioyning (for our English marchants command all there) to leavie our provision: whereunto the Portugals (above other nations) did most willingly and liberally contribute. Insomuch as we were presented (above our allowance) with wines, marmalads, most fine ruske or bisket, sweet oyles and sundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, trouts, lobsters and other fresh fish brought daily unto us. Moreover as the maner is in their fishing, every weeke to choose their Admirall a new, or rather they succeede in orderly course, and have weekely their Admirals feast solemnized: even so the General, Captaines and masters of our fleete were continually invited and feasted. To grow short, in our abundance at home, the intertainment had bene delightfull, but after our wants and tedious passage through the Ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the same was unexpected in that desolate corner of the world: where at other times of the yeare, wilde beasts and birds have only the fruition of all those countries, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented.

The next morning being Sunday and the 4 of August, the

Generall and his company were brought on land by English marchants, who shewed unto us their accustomed walks unto a place they call the Garden. But nothing appeared more then Nature it selfe without art: who confusedly hath brought forth roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable. Also the like plentie of raspis berries, which doe grow in every place.

Munday following, the Generall had his tent set up, who being accompanied with his own followers, summoned the marchants and masters, both English and strangers to be present at his taking possession of those Countries. Before whom openly was read and interpreted unto the strangers his Commission: by vertue whereof he tooke possession in the same harbour of S. Iohn, and 200 leagues every way, invested the Queenes Maiestie with the title and dignitie thereof, had delivered unto him (after the custome of England) a rod and a turffe of the same soile, entring possession also for him, his heires and assignes for ever: And signified unto al men, that from that time forward, they should take the same land as a territorrie appertaining to the Queene of England, and himselfe authorised under her Maiestie to possesse and enioy it, And to ordaine lawes for the governement thereof, agreeable (so neere as conveniently might be) unto the lawes of England: under which all people coming thither hereafter, either to inhabite, or by way of traffique, should be subiected and governed. And especially at the same time for a beginning, he proposed and delivered three lawes to be in force immediatly. That is to say: the first for Religion, which in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England. The 2. for maintenance of her Maiesties right and possession of those territories, against which if any thing were attempted preiudiciall the partie or parties offending should be adiudged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the lawes of England. The 3. if any person should utter words sounding to the dishonour of her Maiestie, he should loose his eares, and have his ship and goods confiscate.

These contents published, obedience was promised by generall voyce and consent of the multitude aswell of Englishmen as strangers, praying for continuance of this possession and governement begun. After this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingraven in lead, and infixed upon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in the right of her Maiestie, and to the behoofe of Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, his heires and assignes for ever: the Generall granted in fee farme divers parcels of land lying by the water side, both in this harbor of St. Iohn, and elsewhere, which was to the owners a great commoditie, being thereby assured (by their proper inheritance) of grounds convenient to dresse and to drie their fish, whereof many times before they did faile, being prevented by them that came first into the harbor. For which grounds they did covenant to pay a certaine rent and service unto sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes for ever, and yeerely to maintaine possession of the same, by themselves or their assignes.

Now remained only to take in provision granted, according as every shippe was taxed, which did fish upon the coast adioyning. In the meane while, the Generall appointed men unto their charge: some to repaire and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering togither our supply and provisions: others to search the commodities and singularities of the countrey, to be found by sea or land, and to make relation unto the Generall what eyther themselves could knowe by their owne travaile and experience, or by good intelligence of English men or strangers, who had longest frequented the same coast. Also some observed the elevation of the pole, and drewe plats of the countrey exactly graded. And by that I could gather by each mans severall relation, I have drawen a briefe description of the Newfoundland, with the commodities by sea or lande alreadie made, and such also as are in possibilitie and great likelihood to be made: Neverthelesse the Cardes and plats that were drawing, with the due gradation of the harbors, bayes, and capes, did perish with the Admirall: wherefore in the description following, I must omit the particulars of such things.

A BRIEFE RELATION OF THE NEW FOUND LANDE, AND THE COMMODITIES THEREOF.

THat which we doe call the Newfound land, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Iland, or rather (after the opinion of some) it consisteth of sundry Ilands and broken lands, situate in the North regions of America, upon the gulfe and entrance of the great river called S. Laurence in Canada. Into the which, navigation may be made both on the South and North side of this Iland. The land lyeth South and North, containing in length betweene three and 400 miles, accounting from cape Race (which is 46 degrees 25 minuts) unto the Grand bay in 52 degrees of Septentrionall latitude. The Iland round about hath very many goodly bayes and harbors, safe roads for ships, the like not to be found in any part of the knowen world. [*The description of Newfoundland, occupying several pages, is here omitted.*]

For amongst other charges given to inquire out the singularities of this countrey, the Generall was most curious in the search of mettals, commanding the minerall man and refiner, especially to be diligent. The same was a Saxon borne, honest and religious, named Daniel. Who after search brought at first some sort of Ore, seeming rather to be yron then other mettal. The next time he found Ore, which with no small shew of contentment he delivered unto the General, using protestation, that if silver were the thing which might satisfie the Generall and his followers, there it was, advising him to seeke no further: the perill whereof he undertooke upon his life (as deare unto him as the Crowne of England unto her Maiestie, that I may use his owne words) if it fell not out accordingly.

My selfe at this instant liker to die then to live, by a mischance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my owne satisfaction: but afterward demanding our Generals opinion therein, and to have some part of the Ore, he replied: Content your selfe, I have seene ynough, and were it but to satifie my private humor, I would proceede no further. The promise unto my friends, and necessitie to bring also the South countries within compasse of my Patent neere expired, as we have alreadie done these North parts, do only perswade me further. And touching the Ore, I have sent it aboord, whereof I would have no speech to be made so long as we remaine within harbor: here being both Portugals, Biscains, and Frenchmen not farre off, from whom must be kept any bruit or muttering of such matter. When we are at sea proofe shalbe made: if it be to our desire, we may returne the sooner hither againe. Whose answere I iudged reasonable, and contenting me well: wherewith will I conclude this narration and description of the Newfound land, and proceede to the rest of our voyage, which ended tragically.*

WHile the better sort of us were seriously occupied in repairing our wants, and continuing of matters for the commoditie of our voyage: others of another sort and disposition were plotting of mischiefe. Some casting to steale away or shipping by night, watching opportunitie by the Generals and Captaines lying on the shore: whose conspiracies discovered, they were prevented. Others drew togither in company, and carried away out of the harbors adioyning, a ship laden with fish, setting the poore men on shore. A great many more of our people stole into the woods to hide themselves, attending time and meanes to returne home by such shipping as daily departed from the coast. Some were sicke of fluxes, and many dead: and in briefe, by one meanes or other our company was diminished, and many by the Generall licenced to returne home. Insomuch as after we had reviewed our people, resolved to see an end of our voyage, we grewe scant of men to furnish all our shipping: it seemed good therefore unto the Generall to leave the Swallowe with such provision as might be spared for transporting home the sicke people.

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* Silver, and even gold, has been found in Newfoundland.

The Captaine of the Delight or Admirall returned into England, in whose stead was appointed Captaine Maurice Browne, before Captaine of the Swallow: who also brought with him into the Delight all his men of the Swallow, which before have bene noted of outrage perpetrated and committed upon fishermen there met at sea.

The Generall made choise to goe in his frigate the Squirrell (whereof the Captaine also was amongst them that returned into England) the same Frigate being most convenient to discover upon the coast, and to search into every harbor or creeke, which a great ship could not doe. Therefore the Frigate was prepared with her nettings and fights, and overcharged with bases and such small Ordinance, more to give a shew, then with iudgement to foresee unto the safetie of her and the men, which afterward was an occasion also of their overthrow.

Now having made readie our shipping, that is to say, the Delight, the golden Hinde, and the Squirrell, and put aboord our provision, which was wines, bread or ruske, fish wette and drie, sweete oiles: besides many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons barrelled, and such like: Also we had other necessary provision for trimming our ships, nets and lines to fish withall, boates or pinnesses fit for discovery. In briefe, we were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had bene in a Countrey or some Citie populous and plentifull of all things.

We departed from this harbor of S. Iohns upon Tuesday the twentieth of August, which we found by exact observation to be in 47 degrees 40 minutes. And the next day by night we were at Cape Race, 25 leagues from the same harborough.

This Cape lyeth South Southwest from S. Iohns: it is a low land, being off from the Cape about halfe a league: within the sea riseth up a rocke against the point of the Cape, which thereby is easily knowen. It is in latitude 46 degrees 25 minutes.

Under this cape we were becalmed a small time, during which we layd out hookes and lines to take Codde, and drew in lesse then two houres, fish so large and in such abundance, that many dayes after we fed upon no other provision.

From hence we shaped our course unto the Island of Sablon, if conveniently it would so fall out, also directly to Cape Briton.

Sablon lieth to the sea-ward of Cape Briton about 25 leagues, whither we were determined to goe upon intelligence we had of a Portugal, (during our abode in S. Iohns) who was himselfe present, when the Portugals (above thirty yeeres past) did put into the same Island both Neat and Swine to breede, which were since exceedingly multiplied. This seemed unto us very happy tidings, to have in an Island lying so neere unto the maine, which we intended to plant upon, such store of cattell, whereby we might at all times conveniently be relieved of victuall, and served of store for breed.

In this course we trended along the coast, which from Cape Race stretcheth into the Northwest, making a bay which some called Trepassa. Then it goeth out againe toward the West, and maketh a point, which with Cape Race lieth in maner East and West. But this point inclineth to the North: to the West of which goeth in the bay of Placentia. We sent men on land to take view of the soyle along this coast, whereof they made good report, and some of them had wil to be planted there. They saw Pease growing in great abundance every where.

The distance betweene Cape Race and Cape Briton is 87 leagues. In which Navigation we spent 8 dayes, having many times the wind indifferent good; yet could we never attaine sight of any land all that time, seeing we were hindred by the current. At last we fell into such flats and dangers, that hardly any of us escaped: where nevertheless we lost our Admiral with al the men and provision, not knowing certainly the place. Yet for inducing men of skill to make coniecture, by our course and way we held from Cape Race thither (that thereby the flats and dangers may be inserted in sea Cards, for warning to others that may follow the same course hereafter) I have set downe the best reckonings that were kept by expert men, William Cox Master of the Hind, and Iohn Paul his mate, both of Limehouse. [*This is here omitted.*]

Our course we held in clearing us of these flats was Eastsoutheast, and Southeast, and South 14 leagues with a marveilous scant winde.

THE MANER HOW OUR ADMIRALL WAS LOST.

UPon Tewsday the 27 of August, toward the evening, our Generall caused them in his frigat to sound, who found white sande at 35 fadome, being then in latitude about 44 degrees.

Wednesday toward night the wind came South, and wee bare with the land all that night, Westnorthwest, contrary to the mind of master Cox: neverthelesse wee followed the Admirall, deprived of power to prevent a mischiefe, which by no contradiction could be brought to hold other course, alleaging they could not make the ship to worke better, nor to lie otherwaies.

The evening was faire and pleasant, yet not without token of storme to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night, like the Swanne that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral, or Delight, continued in sounding of Trumpets, with Drummes, and Fifes: also winding the Cornets, Haught boyes: and in the end of their iolitie, left with the battell and ringing of doleful knels.

Towards the evening also we caught in the Golden Hinde a very mighty Porpose, with a harping yron, having first striken divers of them, and brought away part of their flesh, sticking upon the yron, but could recover onely that one. These also passing through the Ocean, in heardes, did portend storme. I omit to recite frivolous reportes by them in the Frigat, of strange voyces, the same night, which scarred some from the helme.

Thursday the 29 of August, the wind rose, and blew vehemently at South and by East, bringing withal raine, and thicke mist, so that we could not see a cable length before us. And betimes in the morning we were altogether runne and folded in amongst flats and sands, amongst which we found shoale and deepe in every three or foure shippes length, after wee began to sound: but first we were upon them unawares, untill Master Cox looking out, discerned (in his iudgement) white cliffes, crying (land) withal, though we could not afterward descrie any land, it being very likely the breaking of the sea white, which seemed to be white cliffes, through the haze and thicke weather.

Immediatly tokens were given unto the Delight, to cast about to seaward, which, being the greater ship, and of burden 120 tunnes, was yet formost upon the breach, keeping so ill watch, that they knew not the danger before he felt the same, too late to recover it: for presently the Admirall strooke a ground, and had soone after her sterne and hinder partes beaten in pieces: whereupon the rest (that is to say, the Frigat in which was the Generall and the Golden Hinde) cast about Eastsoutheast, bearing to the South, even for our lives into the windes eye, because that way caried us to the seaward. Making out from this danger, wee sounded one while seven fadome, then five fadome, then foure fadome and lesse, againe deeper, immediatly foure fadome, then but three fadome, the sea going mightily and high. At last we recovered (God be thanked) in some despaire, to sea roome enough.

In this distresse, wee had vigilant eye unto the Admirall, whom wee sawe cast away, without power to give the men succour, neither could we espie any of the men that leaped overboord to save themselves, either in the same Pinnesse or Cocke, or upon rafters, and such like meanes, presenting themselves to men in those extremities: for we desired to save the men by every possible meanes. But all in vaine, sith God had determined their ruine: yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat up and downe as neere unto the wracke as was possible for us, looking out, if by good hap we might espie any of them.

This was a heavy and grievous event, to lose at one blow our chiefe shippe fraighted with great provision, gathered together with much travell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the losse of our men, which perished to the number almost of a hundreth soules. Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the citie of Buda, called hereof Budæus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, adventured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discoverie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time.

Here also perished our Saxon Refiner and discoverer of inestimable riches, as it was left amongst some of us in undoubted hope.

No lesse heavy was the losse of the Captaine Maurice Browne, a vertuous, honest, and discreete Gentleman, overseene onely in liberty given late before to men, that ought to have bene restrained, who shewed himselfe a man resolved, and never unprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedie appeared, by report of them that escaped this wracke miraculously, as shall bee hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recovering the ship, and that men began to give over, and to save themselves, the Capatine was advised before to ship also for his life, by the Pinnesse at the sterne of the ship: but refusing that counsell, he would not give example with the first to leave the shippe, but used all meanes to exhort his people not to despaire, nor so to leave off their labour, choosing rather to die, then to incurre infamie, by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to have perished through his default, shewing an ill president unto his men, by leaving the ship first himselfe. With this mind hee mounted upon the highest decke, where hee attended imminent death, and unavoidable; how long, I leave it to God, who withdraweth not his comfort from his servants at such times.

In the meane season, certaine, to the number of fourteene persons, leaped into a small Pinnesse (the bignes of a Thames barge, which was made in the New found land) cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselves to Gods mercy, amiddest the storme, and rage of sea and windes, destitute of foode, not so much as a droppe of fresh water. The boate seeming overcharged in foule weather with company, Edward Headly a valiant souldier, and well reputed of his companie, preferring the greater to the lesser, thought better that some of them perished then all, made this motion to cast lots, and them to bee throwen overboord upon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boate, which otherwayes seemed impossible to live, offred himselfe with the first, content to take his adventure gladly: which neverthelesse Richard Clarke, that was Master of the Admirall, and one of this number, refused, advising to abide Gods pleasure, who was able to save all, as well as a few.

The boate was caried before the wind, continuing sixe dayes and nights in the Ocean, and arrived at last with the men (alive, but weake) upon the New found land, saving that the foresayd Headly, (who had bene late sicke) and another called of us Brasile, of his travell into those Countries, died by the way, famished, and lesse able to holde out, then those of better health. For such was these poore mens extremitie, in cold and wet, to have no better sustenance then their own urine, for sixe dayes together.

Thus whom God delivered from drowning, hee appointed to bee famished, who doth give limits to mans times, and ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying: whom againe he will preserve, neither Sea nor famine can confound. For those that arrived upon the Newe found land, were brought into France by certaine French men, then being upon that coast.

After this heavie chance, wee continued in beating the sea up and downe, expecting when the weather would cleere up, that we might yet beare in with the land, which we iudged not farre off, either the continent or some Island. For we many times, and in sundry places found ground at 50, 45, 40 fadomes, and lesse. The ground comming upon our lead, being sometimes oazie sand, and otherwhile a broad shell, with a little sand about it.

Our people lost courage dayly after this ill successe, the weather continuing thicke and blustering, with increase of cold, Winter drawing on, which tooke from them all hope of amendment, setling an assurance of worse weather to growe upon us every day. The Leeside of us lay full of flats and dangers inevitable, if the wind blew hard at South. Some againe doubted we were ingulphed in the Bay of S. Laurence, the coast full of dangers, and unto us unknowen. But above all, provision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone, with losse of our Admirall.

Those in the Frigat were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly: Whereupon they besought the Generall to returne for England, before they all perished. And to them of the Golden Hinde, they made signes of their distresse, pointing to their mouthes, and to their clothes thinne and ragged: then immediately they also of the Golden Hinde, grew to be of the same opinion and desire to returne home.

The former reasons having also moved the Generall to have compassion of his poore men, in whom he saw no want of good will, but of meanes fit to performe the action they came for, resolved upon retire: and calling the Captaine and Master of the Hinde, he yeelded them many reasons, inforcing this unexpected returne, withall protesting himselfe greatly satisfied with that hee had seene, and knew already.

Reiterating these words, Be content, we have seene enough. and take no care of expence past: I will set you foorth royally the next Spring, if God send us safe home. Therefore I pray you let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the elements.

Omitting circumstance, how unwillingly the Captaine and Master of the Hinde condescended to this motion, his owne company can testifie: yet comforted with the Generals promises of a speedie returne at Spring, and induced by other apparant reasons, proving an impossibilitie, to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

So upon Saturday in the afternoone the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned backe for England, at which very instant, even in winding about, there passed along betweene us and towards the land which we now forsooke a very lion to our seeming, in shape, hair and colour, not swimming after the maner of a beast by mooving of his feete, but rather sliding upon the water with his whole body (excepting the legs) in sight, neither yet diving under, and againe rising above the water, as the maner is, of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Porposes, and all other fish: but confidently shewing himselfe above water without hiding: Notwithstanding, we presented our selves in open view and gesture to amase him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long teeth, and glaring eies, and to bidde us a farewell (comming right against the Hinde) he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which spectacle wee all beheld so farre as we were able to discerne the same, as men prone to wonder at every strange thing, as this doubtlesse was, to see a lion in the Ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbeare to deliver: But he tooke it for Bonum Omen, reioycing that he was to warre against such an enemie, if it were the devill.

The wind was large for England at our returne, but very high, and the sea rough, insomuch as the Frigat wherein the Generall went was almost swalowed up.

Munday in the afternoone we passed in the sight of Cape

Race, having made as much way in little more then two dayes and nights backe againe, as before wee had done in eight dayes from Cape Race, unto the place where our ship perished. Which hindrance thitherward, and speed back againe, is to be imputed unto the swift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our returne.

This Munday the Generall came aboord the Hind to have the Surgeon of the Hind to dresse his foote, which he hurt by treading upon a naile: At what time we comforted ech other with hope of hard successe to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to cary out lights alwayes by night, that we might keepe together, he departed into his Frigat, being by no meanes to be intreated to tarie in the Hind, which had bene more for his security. Immediatly after followed a sharpe storme, which we overpassed for that time. Praysed be God.

The weather faire, the Generall came aboord the Hind againe, to make merrie together with the Captaine, Master and company, which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning untill night. During which time there passed sundry discourses, touching affaires past, and to come, lamenting greatly the losse of his great ship, more of the men, but most of all of his bookes and notes, and what els I know not, for which hee was out of measure grieved, the same doubtles being some matter of more importance than his bookes, which I could not draw from him: yet by circumstance I gathered, the same to be y^e^ Ore which Daniel the Saxon had brought unto him in the New found land. Whatsoever it was, the remembrance touched him so deepe, as not able to containe himselfe, he beat his boy in great rage, even at the same time, so long after the miscarrying of the great ship, because upon a faire day, when wee were becalmed upon the coast of the New found land, neere unto Cape Race, he sent his boy aboord the Admirall, to fetch certaine things: amongst which, this being chiefe, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could never conveniently send againe aboord the great ship, much lesse hee doubted her ruine so neere at hand.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diversly, and by sundry coniectures, which maketh me have the greater hope of this rich Mine. For where as the Generall had never before good conceit of these North parts of the world: now his mind was wholly fixed upon the New found land. And as before he refused not to grant assignements liberally to them that required the same into these North parts, now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any so large grants, especially of S. Iohns, which certaine English merchants made suite for, offering to imploy their money and travell upon the same: yet neither by their owne suite, nor of others of his owne company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure, it could be obtained.

Also laying downe his determination in the Spring following, for disposing of his voyage then to be reattempted: he assigned the Captaine and Master of the Golden Hind, unto the South discovery, and reserved unto himselfe the North, affirming that this voyage had wonne his heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northerne man altogether.

Last, being demanded what means he had at his arrivall in England, to compasse the charges of so great preparation as he intended to make the next Spring: having determined upon two fleetes, one for the South, another for the North: Leave that to mee (hee replied) I will aske a pennie of no man. I will bring good tidings unto her Maiesty, who wil be so gracious, to lend me 10000 pounds, willing us therefore to be of good cheere: for he did thanke God (he sayd) with al his heart, for that he had seene, the same being enough for us all, and that we needed not to seeke any further. And these last words he would often repeate, with demonstration of great fervencie of mind, being himselfe very confident, and setled in beliefe of inestimable good by his voyage: which the greater number of his followers nevertheles mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets, which the Generall kept unto himselfe. Yet all of them that are living, may be witnesses of his words and protestations, which sparingly I have delivered.

Leaving the issue of this good hope unto God, who knoweth the trueth only, and can at his good pleasure bring the same to light: I will hasten to the end of this tragedie, which must be knit up in the person of our Generall. And as it was Gods ordinance upon him, even so the vehement perswasion and intreatie of his friends could nothing availe, to divert him from a wilfull resolution of going through in his Frigat, which was overcharged upon their deckes, with fights, nettings, and small artillerie, too cumbersome for so small a boate, that was to passe through the Ocean sea at that season of the yere, when by course we might expect much storme of foule weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

But when he was intreated by the Captaine, Master, and other his well willers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigat, this was his answere: I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many stormes and perils. And in very trueth, hee was urged to be so over hard, by hard reports given of him, that he was afraid of the sea, albeit this was rather rashnes, then advised resolution, to preferre the wind of a vaine report to the weight of his owne life.

Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had provision out of the Hinde, such as was wanting aboord his Frigat. And so we committed him to Gods protection, and set him aboord his Pinnesse, we being more than 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Islands of Açores South of us, yet wee then keeping much to the North, untill we had got into the height and elevation of England: we met with very foule weather, and terrible seas, breaking short and high Pyramid wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceede either of hilly grounds high and low within the sea, (as we see hilles and dales upon the land) upon which the seas doe mount and fall: or else the cause proceedeth of diversitie of winds, shifting often in sundry points: al which having power to move the great Ocean, which againe is not presently setled, so many seas do encounter together, as there had bene diversitie of windes. Howsoever it commeth to passe, men which all their life time had occupied the Sea, never saw more outragious Seas. We had also upon our maine yard, an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen doe call Castor and Pollux. But we had onely one, which they take an evill signe of more tempest: the same is usuall in stormes.

Munday the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered: and giving foorth signes of ioy, the Generall sitting abaft with a booke in his hand, cried out unto us in the Hind (so oft as we did approch within hearing) We are as neere to heaven by sea as by land. Reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a souldier, resolute in Iesus Christ, as I can testifie he was.

The same Monday night, about twelve of the clocke, or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of us in the Golden Hinde, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment, we lost the sight, and withall our watch cryed, the Generall was cast away, which was so true. For in that moment, the Frigat was devoured and swallowed up of the Sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and ever after, untill wee arrived upon the coast of England: Omitting no small saile at sea, unto which we gave not the tokens betweene us, agreed upon, to have perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.

In great torment of weather, and perill of drowning, it pleased God to send safe home the Golden Hinde, which arrived in Falmouth, the 22 day of September, being Sonday, not without as great danger escaped in a flaw, comming from the Southeast, with such thicke mist, that we could not discerne land, to put in right with the Haven.

From Falmouth we went to Dartmouth, and lay there at anker before the Range, while the captaine went aland, to enquire if there had bene any newes of the Frigat, while sayling well, might happily have bene there before us. Also to certifie Sir Iohn Gilbert, brother unto the Generall of our hard successe, whom the Captaine desired (while his men were yet aboord him, and were witnesses of all occurents in that voyage,) It might please him to take the examination of every person particularly, in discharge of his and their faithfull endeavour. Sir Iohn Gilbert refused so to doe, holding himselfe satisfied with report made by the Captain: and not altogether dispairing of his brothers safetie, offered friendship and curtesie to the Captaine and his company, requiring to have his barke brought into the harbour: in furtherance whereof, a boate was sent to helpe to tow her in.

Neverthelesse, when the Captaine returned aboord his ship, he found his men bent to depart, every man to his home: and then the winde serving to proceede higher upon the coast: they demanded monie to carie them home, some to London, others to Harwich, and elsewhere, (if the barke should be caried into Dartmouth, and they discharged, so farre from home) or else to take benefite of the wind, then serving to draw neerer home, which should be a lesse charge unto the Captaine, and great ease unto the men, having els farre to goe.

Reason accompanied with necessitie perswaded the Captaine, who sent his lawfull excuse and cause of his sudden departure unto Sir Iohn Gilbert, by the boate at Dartmouth, and from thence the Golden Hind departed, and tooke harbour at Waimouth. Al the men tired with the tediousnes of so unprofitable a voyage to their seeming: in which their long expence of time, much toyle and labour, hard diet and continuall hazard of life was unrecompensed: their Captaine neverthelesse by his great charges, impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the goodnes of God, and his undoubted providence following him in all that voyage, as it doth alwaies those at other times, whosoever have confidence in him alone. Yet have we more neere feeling and perseverance of his powerfull hand and protection, when God doth bring us together with others into one same peril, in which he leaveth them, and delivereth us, making us thereby the beholders, but not partakers of their ruine.

Even so, amongst very many difficulties, discontentments, mutinies, conspiracies, sicknesses, mortalitie, spoylings, and wracks by sea, which were afflictions, more then in so small a Fleete, or so short a time may be supposed, albeit true in every particularitie, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and some I suppressed with silence for their sakes living, it pleased God to support this company, (of which onely one man died of a maladie inveterate, and long infested): the rest kept together in reasonable contentment and concord, beginning, continuing, and ending the voyage, which none els did accomplish either not pleased with the action, or impatient of wants, or prevented by death.

Thus have I delivered the contents of the enterprise and last action of sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meete to be published: wherein may alwaies appeare, (though he be extinguished) some sparkes of his vertues, he remaining firme and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly, as was this, to discover, possesse, and to reduce unto the service of God, and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of America, not actually possessed by Christians, and most rightly appertaining unto the Crowne of England: unto the which, as his zeale deserveth high commendation: even so, he may iustly be taxed of temeritie and presumption (rather) in two respects.

First, when yet there was onely probabilitie, not a certaine and determinate place of habitation selected, neither any demonstration of commoditie there in esse, to induce his followers: nevertheles, he both was too prodigall of his owne patrimony, and too careles of other mens expences, to imploy both his and their substance upon a ground imagined good. The which falling, very like his associates were promised, and made it their best reckoning to bee salved some other way, which pleased not God to prosper in his first and great preparation.

Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of abilitie and credit, to performe his designements, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunitie and meanes, which God might raise, he thrust himselfe againe into the action, for which he was not fit, presuming the cause pretended on Gods behalfe, would carie him to the desired ende. Into which, having thus made reentrie, he could not yeeld againe to withdraw though hee sawe no encouragement to proceed, lest his credite, foyled in his first attempt, in a second should utterly be disgraced. Betweene extremities, hee made a right adventure, putting all to God and good fortune, and which was worst refused not to entertaine every person and meanes whatsoever, to furnish out this expedition, the successe whereof hath bene declared.

But such is the infinite bountie of God, who from every evill deriveth good. For besides that fruite may growe in time of our travelling into those Northwest lands, the crosses, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humors, which before we noted to bee in this Gentleman, and made unsavorie, and lesse delightful his other manifold vertues.

Then as he was refined, and made neerer drawing unto the image of God: so it pleased the divine will to resume him unto himselfe, whither both his, and every other high and noble minde, have alwayes aspired.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who planted the first English colony in North America, was born in Devonshire about 1539, and was the step brother of Sir Walter Raleigh. He was educated at Eton and Oxford, and devoted himself to the study of navigation and the art of war. In 1566 he prepared and presented to the queen a "Discourse of Discovery for a New Passage to Cataia," which became the incitement to Frobisher's voyage ten years later in search of the North-west passage. He served in France and Ireland, and in 1571 entered Parliament for Plymouth. In 1572 he was sent to the Netherlands to assist the Zeelanders against their Spanish tyrants. In 1577 he set forth another discourse, on "How her Majesty might annoy the King of Spain by fitting out a fleet of war-ships under pretence of a voyage of discovery, and so fall upon the enemy's shipping, destroy his trade in Newfoundland and the West Indies, and possess both Regions." This reveals the motive of his subsequent career. In 1578 he obtained from the queen a charter for discovery, to plant a colony, and to be governor. The first expedition, in which he was assisted by Raleigh, left Dartmouth in 1578, but met with disaster, involving Gilbert in losses from which it took several years to recover. In June, 1583, he sailed from Plymouth, with a fleet of five ships, upon the famous voyage whose story, as told by Edward Hayes, the commander of one of the vessels, is given in the present leaflet. Hayes's account was published in Hakluyt.

There is no good special work on Gilbert. The scholarly article in the Dictionary of National Biography is by C. H. Coote; and this contains a good bibliography. See also the references in the Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. III. Hayes's account is reprinted in Payne's "Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen to America," second series, with a valuable introduction.

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Raleigh's First Roanoke Colony.

THE ACCOUNT BY RALPH LANE.

An account of the particularities of the imployments of the English men left in Virginia by Richard Greenevill under the charge of Master Ralph Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August 1585. until the 18. of Iune 1586. at which time they departed the Countrey; sent and directed to Sir Walter Ralegh.

THat I may proceede with order in this discourse; I thinke it requisite to divide it into two parts. The first shall declare the particularities of such partes of the Countrey within the maine, as our weake number, and supply of things necessarie did inable us to enter into the discovery of.

The second part shall set downe the reasons generally moving us to resolve on our departure at the instant with the Generall Sir Francis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barkes, pinnesses, and boates with the Masters and Mariners meant by him to bee left in the Countrey, for the supply of such, as for a further time meant to have stayed there, were caryed away with tempest and foule weather: In the beginning whereof shall bee declared the conspiracie of Pemisapan, with the Savages of the maine to have cut us off, &c.

The first part declaring the particularities of the Countrey of Virginia.

FIrst therefore touching the particularities of the Countrey, you shall understand that our discoverie of the same hath beene extended from the Island of Roanoak, (the same having bene the place of our settlement or habitation) into the South, into the North, into the Northwest, and into the West.

The uttermost place to the Southward of any discovery was Secotan, being by estimation fourescore miles distant from Roanoak. The passage from thence was through a broad sound within the mayne, the same being without kenning of lande, and yet full of flats and shoalds: * we had but one boate with four oares to passe through the same, which boate could not carry above fifteene men with their furniture, baggage, and victuall for seven dayes at the most: and as for our pinesse, besides that she drew too deep water for that shallow sound, she would not stirre for an oare: for these and other reasons (winter also being at hand) we thought good wholly to leeve the discovery of those parts untill our stronger supply.

To the Northward our furthest discovery was to the Chesepians † distant from Roanoak about 130. miles, the passage to it was very shallow and most dangerous, by reason of the bredth of the sound, and the little succour that upon any flawe was there to be had.

But the Territorie and soyle of the Chesepians (being distant fifteene miles from the shore) was for pleasantnes of seat, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of soyle and for the commoditie of the Sea, besides multitude of Beares (being an excellent good victuall) with great woods of Sassafras, and Wallnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever.

There be sundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countreys of great fertility adioyning to the same, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opossians, which all came to visite the Colonie of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there.

To the Northwest the farthest place of our discovery was to Chawanook distant from Roanoak about 130. miles. Our passage thither lyeth through a broad sound,‡ but all fresh water, and the chanell of a great depth, navigable for good shipping, but out of the chanell full of shoalds.

The Townes about the waters side situated by the way are these following: Passaquenoke The womans Towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, and Metackwem: all these being under the iurisdiction of the king of Weopomeiok, called Okisco: From Muscamunge we enter into the River,§ and iurisdiction

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* Pamlico Sound. † Chesapeake Bay. ‡ Albemarle Sound. § River Meherrin?

of Chawanook: There the River beginneth to straighten until it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames betweene Westminster and Lambeth.

Betwene Muscamunge and Chawanook upon the left hand as wee passe, thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a Towne which we called The blinde Towne, but the Savages called it Ohanoak, and hath a very goodly corne field belonging unto it: it is subiect to Chawanook.

Chawanook it selfe is the greatest Province and Seigniorie lying upon that River, and that the Towne it selfe is able to put 700. fighting men into the fielde, besides the force of the Province it selfe.

The king of the sayd Province is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his lims, but otherwise for a Savage, a very grave and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the disposition of his owne men, but also of his neighbours round about him as well farre as neere, and of the commodities that eache Countrey yeeldeth. When I had him prisoner with me, for two dayes that we were together, he gave mee more understanding and light of the Countrey then I had received by all the searches and Savages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with: it was in March last past 1586. Amongst other things he tolde me, that going three dayes iourney in a Canoe up his River of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within foure dayes iourney to passe over land Northeast to a certaine kings countrey, whose Province lyeth upon the Sea, but his place of greatest strength is an Island situate, as he described unto mee, in a Bay, the water round about the Island very deepe.

Out of this Bay hee signified unto mee, that this King had so greate quantitie of Pearle, and doeth so ordinarily take the same, as that not onely his owne skinnes that hee weareth, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the sayd Pearle, but also his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and that hee hath such quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to see.

He shewed me that the sayd King was with him at Chawanook two yeeres before, and brought him certaine Pearle, but the same of the worst sort, yet was he faine to buy them of him for copper at a deere rate, as he thought. Hee gave mee a rope of the same pearle, but they were blacke, and naught, yet many of them were very great, and a few amongst a number very orient and round, all which I lost with other things of mine, comming aboord Sir Francis Drake his Fleete; yet he tolde me that the sayd King had great store of Pearle that were white, great, and round, and that his blacke Pearle his men did take out of shallow water, but the white Pearle his men fished for in very deepe water.

It seemed to me by his speach, that the sayd King had traffique with white men that had clothes as we have, for these white Pearle, and that was the reason that hee would not depart with other then with blacke Pearles, to those of the same countrey.

The king of Chawanook promised to give me guids to go over land into that kings countrey whensoever I would: but he advised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victuall, for he said, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his Countrey, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any Pearle there, and that hee was able to make a great many of men in to the field, which he sayd would fight very well.

Hereupon I resolved with my selfe, that if your supplie had come before the ende of Aprill, and that you had sent any store of boates or men, to have had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men and victuals to have found us untill the newe corne were come in, I would have sent a small barke with two pinnesses about by Sea to the Northward to have found out the Bay he spake of, and to have sounded the barre if there were any, which should have ridden there in the sayd Bay about that Iland, while I with all the small boates I could make, and with two hundred men would have gone up to the head of the river of Chawanook with the guids that Menatonon would have given me, which I would have bene assured should have beene of his best men, (for I had his best beloved sonne prisoner with me) who also should have kept me companie in an handlocke with the rest, foote by foote, all the voyage over land.

My meaning was further at the head of the River in the place of my descent where I would have left my boates, to have raised a sconse with a small trench, and a pallisado upon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boates I would have left five and twentie, or thirtie men, with the rest would I have marched with as much victuall as every man could have caried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades and axes, two dayes iourney. In the ende of my march upon some convenient plot would I have raised another sconse according to the former, where I would have left fiftene or twentie. And if it would have fallen out conveniently, in the way I would have raised my saide sconse upon some Corne fielde, that my company might have lived upon it.

And so I would have holden this course of insconsing every two dayes march, untill I had bene arrived at the Bay or Port hee spake of: which finding to bee worth the possession, I would there have raised a maine fort, both for the defence of the harborough, and our shipping also, and would have reduced our whole habitation from Roanoak and from the harborough and port there (which by proofe is very naught) unto this other before mentioned, from whence, in the foure dayes march before specified, could I at al times returne with my company back unto my boates riding under my sconse, very neere whereunto directly from the West runneth a most notable River, and in all those parts most famous, called the River of Moratoc.* This River openeth into the broad Sound of Weapomeiok.† And whereas the River of Chawanook, and all the other Sounds, and Bayes, salt and fresh, shewe no current in the world in calme weather, but are mooved altogether with the winde: This River of Moratoc hath so violent a current from the West and Southwest, that it made me almost of opinion that with oares it would scarse be navigable: it passeth with many creekes and turnings, and for the space of thirtie miles rowing, and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Greenwich and the Isle of dogges, in some places more, and in some lesse: the current runneth as strong, being entred so high into the River, as at London bridge upon a vale water.

And for that not onely Menatonon, but also the Savages of Moratoc themselves doe report strange things of the head of that River, it is thirtie dayes as some of them say, and some say fourtie dayes voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springeth out of a maine rocke in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent streame: and further, that this huge rock standeth so neere unto a Sea, that many times in stormes (the winde comming outwardly from the sea) the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh streame, so that the fresh water for a certaine space, groweth salt and brackish: I tooke a resolution with my selfe, having dismissed Menatonon upon a ransome agreed for, and sent his sonne into the pinnesse to Roanoak, to enter presently so farre into that River with two double whirries, and fourtie persons one or other, as I could have victuall to cary us, until we could meete with more either of the Moraroks, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kinde of Savages, dwelling more to the Westward of the said River: but the hope of recovering more victuall from the Savages made mee and my company as narrowly to escape starving in that discoverie before our returne, as ever men did, that missed the same.

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* River Appomatox? † James River?

For Pemisapan, who had changed his name of Wingina upon the death of his brother Granganimo, had given both the Choanists, and Mangoaks worde of my purpose towarde them, I having bene inforced to make him privie to the same, to bee served by him of a guide to the Mangoaks, and yet hee did never rest to solicite continually my going upon them, certifying mee of a generall assembly even at that time made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances, and allies to the number of three thousand bowes, preparing to come upon us at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks also were ioyned in the same confederacie, who were able of themselves to bring as many more to the enterprise: And true it was that at that time the assembly was holden at Chawanook about us, as I found at my comming thither, which being unlooked for dido dismay them, as it made us have the better hand at them. But this confederacie against us of the Choanists and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemisapan himselfe, as Menatonon confessed unto me, who sent them continual word, that our purpose was fully bent to destroy them: on the other side he told me, that they had the like meaning towards us.

Hee in like sort having sent worde to the Mangoaks of mine intention to passe up into their River, and to kill them (as he saide) both they and the Moratoks, with whom before wee were entred into a league, and they had ever dealt kindly with us, abandoned their Townes along the River, and retired themselves with their Crenepos,* and their Corne within the maine: insomuch as having passed three dayes voyage up the River, wee could not meete a man, nor finde a graine of Corne in any of their Townes: whereupon considering with my selfe that wee had but two dayes victuall left, and that wee were then 160. miles from home. besides casualtie of contrarie windes or stormes, and suspecting treason of our owne Savages in the discoverie of our voyage intended, though wee had no intention to bee hurtfull to any of them, otherwise then for our copper to have had corne of them: I at night upon the Corps of guard, before the putting foorth of Centinels, advertised the whole company of the case wee stoode in for victuall, and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our owne Savages, and of purpose drawen foorth by them upon vaine hope to be in the ende starved, seeing all the Countrey fled before us, and therefore while wee had those two dayes victual left, I thought it good for us to make our returne homeward, and that it were necessary for us to get the other side of the Sound of Weopomeiok in time, where wee might be relieved upon the weares of Chypanum, and the womens Towne, although the people were fled.

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* Their women.

Thus much I signified unto them, as the safest way: nevertheless I did referre it to the greatest number of voyces, whether wee should adventure the spending of our whole victuall in some further viewe of that most goodly River in hope to meete with some better happe, or otherwise to retire our selves backe againe. And for that they might be the better advised, I willed them to deliberate all night upon the matter, and in the morning at our going aborde to set our course according to the desires of the greatest part. Their resolution fully and wholy was (and not three founde to bee of the contrary opinion) that whiles there was lefte but one halfe pinte of Corne for a man, wee should not leave the search of that River, and that there were in the companie two Mastives upon the pottage of which with Sassafras leaves (if the worst fell out) the company would make shift to live two dayes, which time would bring them downe the current to the mouth of the River, and to the entrie of the Sound, and in two dayes more at the farthest they hoped to crosse the Sound and to bee relieved by the weares, which two dayes they would fast rather then be drawen backe a foote till they had seene the Mangoaks, either as friendes or foes. This resolution of theirs did not a little please mee, since it came of themselves, although for mistrust of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to have bene rather of the contrary opinion.

And that which made me most desirous to have some doings with the Mangoaks either in friendship or otherwise to have had one or two of them prisoners, was, for that it is a thing most notorious to all the countrey, that there is a Province to the which the said Mangoaks have recourse and trafique up that River of Moratoc, which hath a marveilous and most strange Minerall. This Mine is so notorious amongst them, as not onely to the Savages dwelling up the said river, and also to the Savages of Chawanook, and all them to the Westward, but also to all them of the maine: the Countreis name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

The Minerall they say is Wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Wassador every mettall whatsoever: they say it is of the colour of our copper, but our copper is better then theirs: and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft, and pale: they say that they take the saide mettall out of a river that falleth very swift from hie rockes and hils, and they take it in shallow water: the maner is this. They take a great bowle by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrappe a skinne over the hollow parte thereof, leaving one part open to receive in the minerall: that done, they watch the comming downe of the current, and the change of the colour of the water, and then suddenly chop downe the said bowle with the skinne, and receive into the same as much oare as will come in, which is ever as much as their bowle will holde, which presently they cast into a fire, and foorthwith it melteth, and doeth yeeld in five parts at the first melting, two parts of mettall for three partes of oare. Of this mettall the Mangoaks have so great store, by report of all the Savages adioyning, that they beautify their houses with greate plates of the same: and this to be true, I received by report of all the countrey, and particularly by yong Skiko, the King of Chawanooks sonne of my prisoner, who also him selfe had bene prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set downe all the particularities to me before mentioned: but he had not bene at Chaunis Temoatan himselfe: for hee said it was twentie dayes iourney overland from the Mangoaks, to the said Minerall Countrey, and that they passed through certaine other territories betweene them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said Countrey.

Upon report of the premisses, which I was very inquisitive in all places where I came to take very particular information of by all the Savages that dwelt towardes these parts, and especially of Menatonon himselfe, who in every thing did very particularly informe mee, and promised me guides of his owne men, who should passe over with me, even to the said Country of Chaunis Temoatan (for overland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one dayes iourney from Sunne rising to Sunne setting, whereas by water it is seven dayes with the soonest: These things, I say, made me very desirous by all meanes possible to recover the Mangoaks, and to get some of that their copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly yeelded to their resolution: But it fell out very contrary to all expectation, and likelyhood: for after two dayes travell, and our whole victuall spent, lying on shoare all night, wee could never see man, onely fires we might perceive made alongst the shoare where we were to passe, and up into the Country, untill the very last day. In the evening whereof, about three of the clocke wee heard certaine Savages call as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answere them, they presently began a song, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo presently betooke him to his piece, and tolde mee that they meant to fight with us: which word was not so soon spoken by him, and the light horseman ready to put to shoare, but there lighted a vollie of their arrowes amongst them in the boat, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Immediatly, the other boate lying ready with their shot to skoure the place for our hand weapons to lande upon, which was presently done, although the land was very high and steepe, the Savages forthwith quitted the shoare, and betooke themselves to flight: wee landed, and having faire and easily followed for a smal time after them, who had wooded themselves we know not where: the Sunne drawing then towards the setting, and being then assured that the next day if wee would pursue them, though we might happen to meete with them, yet wee should be assured to meete with none of their victuall, which we then had good cause to thinke of: therefore choosing for the company a convenient ground in safetie to lodge in for the night, making a strong Corps of guard, and putting out good Centinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the Sunne to be going back againe, if possibly we might recover the mouth of the river, into the broad sound, which at my firste motion I found my whole company ready to assent unto: for they were nowe come to their Dogges porredge, that they had bespoken for themselves if that befell them which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape. The ende was, we came the next day by night to the Rivers mouth within foure or five miles of the same, having rowed in one day downe the current, much as in foure dayes wee had done against the same: we lodged upon an Iland, where wee had nothing in the world to eate but pottage of Sassafras leaves, the like whereof for a meate was never used before as I thinke. The broad sound wee had to passe the next day all fresh and fasting: that day the winde blew so strongly and the billow so great, that there was no possibilitie of passage without sinking of our boates. This was upon Easter eve, which was fasted very truely. Upon Easter day in the morning the winde comming very calme, we entred the sound, and by foure of the clocke we were at Chipanum, whence all the Savages that we had left there were left, but their weares did yeeld us some fish, as God was pleased not utterly to suffer us to be lost: for some of our company of the light horsemen were farre spent. The next morning wee arrived at our home Roanoak.

I have set downe this Voyage somewhat particularly, to the ende it may appeare unto you, (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the most to the least amongst us, to have perfited this discoverie of the Mine: for that the discovery of a good Mine, by the goodnesse of God, or a passage to the South-sea, or some way to it, and nothing els can bring this Countrey in request to be inhabited by our nation. And with the discovery of either of the two above shewed, it will bee the most sweet and healthfullest climate, and there withall the most fertile soyle (being manured) in the world: and then will Sassafras, and many other rootes and gummes there found make good marchandise and lading for shipping, which otherwise of themselves will not be worth fetching.

Provided also, that there be found out a better harborough then yet there is, which must be to the Northward, if any there bee, which was mine intention to have spent this Summer in the search of, and of the Mine of Chawnis Temoatan: the one I would have done, if the barkes that I should have had of Sir Francis Drake, by his honourable courtesie, had not bene driven away by storme: the other if your supply of more men, and some other necessaries had come to us in any convenient sufficiencie. For this river of Moratico promiseth great things, and by the opinion of M. Hariots the head of it by the description of the Countrey, either riseth from the Bay of Mexico, or els from very neere unto the same, that openeth out into the South sea.

And touching the Minerall, thus doeth M. Youghan affirme, that though it be but copper, seeing the Savages are able to melt it, it is one of the richest Minerals in the world.

Wherefore a good harborough found to the Northward, as before is saide, and from thence foure dayes overland, to the River of Choanoak sconses being raised, from whence againe overland through the province of Choanoak one dayes voyage to the first towne of the Mangoaks up the river of Moratico by the way, as also upon the said River for the defence of our boats like sconses being set, in this course of proceeding you shall cleare your selfe from al those dangers and broad shallow sounds before mentioned, and gaine within foure dayes travell into the heart of the maine 200. miles at the least, and so passe your discovery into that most notable countrey, and to the likeliest parts of the maine, with farre greater felicitie then otherwise can bee performed.

Thus Sir, I have though simply, yet truely set downe unto you, what my labour with the rest of the gentlemen, and poore men of our company (not without both paine and perill, which the Lord in his mercy many wayes delivered us from) could yeeld unto you, which might have bene performed in some more perfection, if the Lord had bene pleased that onely that which you had provided for us had at the first bene left with us, or that hee had not in his eternall providence now at the last set some other course in these things, than the wisedome of man coulde looke into, which truely the carying away by a most strange and unlooked for storme of all our provision, with Barks, Master, Mariners, and sundry also of mine owne company, al having bene so courteously supplied by the generall Sir Francis Drake, the same having bene most sufficient to have performed the greatest part of the premisses, must ever make me to thinke the hand of God onely (for some his good purpose to my selfe yet unknowen) to have bene in the matter.

The second part touching the conspiracie of Pemisapan, the discovery of the same, and at the last, of our request to depart with Sir Francis Drake for England.

ENsenore a Savage father to Pemisapan being the onely friend to our nation that we had amongst them, and about the King, died the 20. of April 1586. He alone had before opposed himselfe in their consultations against all matters proposed against us, which both the King and all the rest of them after Grangemoes death, were very willing to have preferred. And he was not onely by the meere providence of God during his life, a meane to save us from hurt, as poysonings and such like, but also to doe us very great good, and singularly in this.

The King was advised and of himselfe disposed, as a ready meane to have assuredly brought us to ruine in the moneth of March 1586. himselfe also with all his Savages to have runne away from us, and to have left his ground in the Iland unsowed: which if hee had done, there had bene no possibiltie in common reason, (but by the immediate hande of God) that wee could have bene preserved from starving out of hande. For at that time wee had no weares for fish, neither coulde our men skill of the making of them, neither had wee one graine of Corne for seede to put into the ground.

In mine absence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists, and Mangoaks, they had raised a brute among themselves, that I and my company were part slaine, and part starved by the Chaonists, and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starved, but the other false.

Neverthelesse untill my returne it tooke such effect in Pemisapans breast, and in those against us, that they grew not onely into contempt of us, but also (contrary to their former reverend opinion in shew, of the Almightie God of heaven, and Iesus Christ whom wee serve and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confesse the onely God) now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lorde God was not God, since hee suffered us to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks, for so they call by that generall name all the inhabitants of the whole maine, of what province soever. Insomuch as olde Ensenore, neither any of his fellowes, could for his sake have no more credite for us:

and it came so farre that the king was resolved to have presently gone away as is aforesaid.

But even in the beginning of this bruite I returned, which when hee sawe contrary to his expectation, and the advertisement that hee had received: that not onely my selfe, and my company were all safe, but also by report of his owne 3. Savages which had bene with mee besides Manteo in that voyage, that is to say, Tetepano, his sisters husband Eracano, and Cossine, that the Chanoists and Mangoaks (whose name and multitude besides their valour is terrible to all the rest of the provinces) durst not for the most part of them abide us, and that those that did abide us were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his sonne that he best loved to Roanoak with mee, it did not a little asswage all devises against us: on the other side, it made Ensenores opinions to be received againe with greater respects. For he had often before tolde them, and then renewed those his former speeches, both to the King and the rest, that wee were the servants of God, and that wee were not subiect to bee destroyed by them: but contrarywise, that they amongst them that sought our destruction, shoulde finde their owne, and not bee able to worke ours, and that we being dead men were able to doe them more hurt, then now we could do being alive: an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wisest amongst them, and of their old men, as also, that they have bene in the night, being 100. miles from any of us, in the aire shot at, and stroken by some men of ours, that by sicknesse had died among them: and many of them holde opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world againe, and that wee doe not remaine dead but for a certaine time, and that then we returne againe.

All these speeches then againe grewe in ful credite with them, the King, and all, touching us, when hee sawe the small troupe returned againe, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible unto them: But that which made up the matter on our side for that time was an accident, yea rather (as all the rest was) the good providence of the Almightie for the saving of us, which was this.

Within certaine dayes after my returne from the sayd iourney, Menatonon sent a messenger to visite his sonne the prisoner with me, and sent me certaine pearle for a present, or rather, as Pemisapan tolde mee, for the ransome of his sonne, and therefore I refused them: but the greatest cause of his sending then, was to signifie unto mee, that hee had commaunded Okisko King of Weopomiok, to yeelde himselfe servant, and homager, to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh: to perfourme which commandement received from Menatonon, the sayde Okiosko ioyntly with this Menatonons messenger sent foure and twentie of his principallest men to Roanoak to Pemisapan, to signifie that they were ready to perfourme the same, and so had sent those his men to let mee knowe that from that time forwarde, hee, and his successours were to acknowledge her Maiestie their onely Soveraigne, and next unto her, as is aforesayd.

All which being done, and acknowledged by them all, in the presence of Pemisapan his father, and all his Savages in counsell then with him, it did for the time thorowly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward us: Insomuch as forthwith Ensenore wanne this resolution of him, that out of hand he should goe about, and withall, to cause his men to set up weares foorthwith for us: both which he at that present went in hande withall, and did so labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had sowed a good quantitie of ground, so much as had bene sufficient, to have fed our whole company (God blessing the grouth) and that by the belly, for a whole yere: besides that he gave us a certaine plot of ground for our selves to sowe. All which put us in marveilous comfort, if we could passe from Aprill untill the beginning of Iuly, (which was to have bene the beginning of their harvest,) that then a newe supply out of England or else our owne store would well ynough maintaine us: All our feare was of the two moneths betwixt, in which meane space if the Savages should not helpe us with Chassaui, and Chyna, and that our weares should faile us, (as often they did) we might very well starve, notwithstanding the growing corne, like the starving horse in the stable, with the growing grasse, as the prover be is: which wee very hardly had escaped, but onely by the hand of God, as it pleased him to try us. For within few dayes after, as before is saide, Ensenore our friend died, who was no sooner dead, but certaine of our great enemies about Pemisapan, as Osacan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wanchese most principally, were in hand againe to put their old practises in use against us, which were readily imbraced, and all their former devises against us, reneued, and new brought in question. But that of starving us, by their for-bearing to sow, was broken by Ensenore in his life, by having made the King all at one instant to sow his ground, not onely in the Iland, but also at Dasamonquepeio in the maine, within two leagues over against us. Neverthelesse there wanted no store of mischievous practises among them, and of all they resolved principally of this following.

First that Okisko king of Weopomeiok with the Mandoages should bee mooved, and with great quantitie of copper intertained to the number of 7. or 8. hundreth bowes, to enterprise the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weopomeiok should be invited to a certaine kind of moneths minde which they doe use to solemnise in their Savage maner for any great personage dead, and should have bene for Ensenore. At this instant also should the Mandoaks, who were a great people, with the Chesepians and their friends to the number of 700. of them, be armed at a day appointed to the maine of Dasamonquepeio, and there lying close at the signe of fires, which should interchangeably be made on both sides, when Pemisapan with his troupe above named should have executed me, and some of our Weroances (as they called all our principall officers,) the maine forces of the rest should have come over into the Island, where they went to have dispatched the rest of the company, whom they did imagine to finde both dismayed and dispersed abroad in the Island, seeking of crabs and fish to live withall. The maner of their enterprise was this.

Tarraquine and Andacon two principall men about Pemisapan, and very lustie fellowes, with twentie more appointed to them had the charge of my person to see an order taken for the same, which they ment should in this sort have bene executed. In the dead time of the night they would have beset my house, and put fire in the reedes that the same was covered with: meaning (as it was likely) that my selfe would have come running out of a sudden amazed in my shirt without armes, upon the instant whereof they would have knocked out my braines.

The same order was given to certaine of his fellowes, for M. Heriots: so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is saide, and that as well for them of the fort, as for us at the towne. Now to the ende that we might be the fewer in number together, and so bee the more easily dealt withall (for in deed tenne of us with our armes prepared, were a terrour to a hundred of the best sort of them.) they agreed and did immediatly put it in practise, that they should not for any copper sell us any victuals whatsoever: besides that in the night they should sende to have our weares robbed, and also to cause them to bee broken, and once being broken never to bee repaired againe by them. By this meanes the King stood assured, that I must bee enforced for lacke of sustenance there, to disband my company into sundry places to live upon shell fish, for so the Savages themselves doe, going to Hatorask, Croatoan, and other places, fishing and hunting, while their grounds be in sowing, and their corne growing: which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew so extreeme among us, our weares failing us of fish, that I was enforced to sende Captaine Stafford with 20. with him to Croatoan my Lord Admirals Iland to serve two turnes in one, that is to say, to feede himselfe and his company, and also to keepe watch if any shipping came upon the coast to warne us of the same. I sent M. Pridiox with the pinnesse to Hatorask, and ten with him, with the Provost Marshal to live there, and also to wait for shipping: also I sent every weeke 16. or 20. of the rest of the company to the maine over against us, to live of Casada and oysters.

In the meane while Pemisapan, went of purpose to Dasamonquepeio for three causes: The one to see his grounds there broken up, and sowed for a second crop: the other to withdrawe himselfe from my dayly sending to him for supply of victuall for my company, for hee was afraid to deny me any thing, neither durst hee in my presence but by colour and with excuses, which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the ende as I had reason to give him the iumpe once for all: but in the meane whiles, as I had ever done before, I and mine bare all wrongs, and accepted of all excuses.

My purpose was to have relied my selfe with Menatonon, and the Chaonists, who in trueth as they are more valiant people and in greater number then the rest, so are they more faithfull in their promises, and since my late being there had given many tokens of earnest desire they had to ioyne in perfect league with us, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weopomeiok for making him beleeve such tales of us.

The third cause of his going to Dasamonquepeio was to dispatch his messengers to Weopomeiok, and to the Mandoages, as aforesaid: all which he did with great imprest of copper in hand, making large promises to them of greater spoile.

The answere within few dayes after came from Weopomeiok, which was devided into two parts. First for the King Okisko, who denied to be of the partie for himselfe, or any of his especiall followers, and therefore did immediatly retire himselfe with his force into the maine: the other was concerning the rest of the province who accepted of it: and in like sort the Mandoags received the imprest.

The day of their assembly aforesaid at Roanoak was appointed the 10. of June: all which the premises were discovered by Skyco, the King Menatonon his sonne my prisoner, who having once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bylboes, threatening to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemisapans request: whereupon hee being perswaded that hee was our enemie to the death, he did not onely feed him with himselfe, but also made him acquainted with all his practises. On the other side, the yong man finding himselfe as well used at my hande, as I had meanes to shew, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly discovered al unto me, which also afterwards was reveiled unto me by one of Pemisapans owne men, that night before he was slaine.

These mischiefes being all instantly upon me and my company to be put in execution, it stood mee in hand to study howe to prevent them, and also to save all others, which were at that time as aforesaid so farre from me: whereupon I sent to Pemisapan to put suspition out of his head, that I meant presently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the arrival of our fleete, (though I in trueth had neither heard nor hoped for so good adventure,) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fish for my company, and to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some foure dayes provision to serve for my vogaye.

He sent me word that he would himselfe come over to Roanoak, but from day to day he deferred, onely to bring the Weopomeioks with him and the Mandoags, whose time appointed was within eight dayes after. It was the last of May 1586 when all his owne Savages began to make their assembly at Roanoak, at his commandement sent abroad unto them, and I resolved not to stay longer upon his comming over, since he meant to come with so good company, but thought good to go and visit him with such as I had, which I resolved to do the next day: but that night I meant to give them in the Iland a camisado,* and at the instant to seize upon all the canoas about the Island, to keepe him from advertisements.

But the towne tooke the alarme before I meant it to them: the occasion was this, I had sent the Master of the light horsemen, with a fewe with him, to gather up all the canoas in the setting of the Sun, and to take as many as were going from us to Dasamonquepeio, but to suffer any that came from thence, to land. He met with a canoa, going from the shore, and overthrew the canoa, and cut off two Savages heads: this was not done so secretly but he was discovered from the shore; whereupon the cry arose: for in trueth they, privy to their owne villanous purposes against us, held as good espial upon us, both day and night, as we did upon them.

The alarme given, they tooke themselves to their bowes, and we to our armes: some three or foure of them at the first were slaine with our shot; the rest fled into the woods. The next morning with the light horsemen and one Canoa taking 25 with the Colonel of the Chesepians, and the Sergeant maior, I went to Dasamonquepeio: and being landed, sent Pemisapan word by one of his owne Savages that met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complaine unto him of Osocon, who the night past was conveying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an handlocke. Heereupon the king did abide my comming to him, and finding myselfe amidst seven or eight of his principall Weroances and followers, (not regarding any of the common sort) I gave the watch-word agreed upon, (which was, Christ our victory) and immediatly those his chiefe men and himselfe had by the mercy of God for our deliverance, that which they had purposed for us. The king himselfe being shot thorow by the Colonell with a pistoll, lying on the ground for dead, and I looking as watchfully for the saving of Manteos friends, as others were busie that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started up, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, insomuch as he overran all the company, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my petronell. In the end an Irish man serving me, one Nugent, and the deputy provost, undertooke him; and following him in the woods, overtooke him: and I in some doubt least we had lost both the king and my man by our owne negligence to have beene intercepted by the Savages, wee met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapans head in his hand.

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* Night surprise. So called from having been made by horsemen with white shirts over their armour so as to recognize each other in the darkness.

This fell out the first of June 1586, and the eight of the same came advertisement to me from captaine Stafford, lying at my lord Admirals Island, that he had discovered a great fleet of three and twentie sailes: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet discerne. He advised me to stand upon as good guard as I could.

The ninth of the sayd moneth he himselfe came unto me, having that night before, and that same day travelled by land twenty miles: and I must truely report of him from the first to the last; hee was the gentleman that never spared labour or perill either by land or water, faire weather or foule, to performe any service committed unto him.

He brought me a letter from the Generall Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountifull and honourable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action wee were entred into; and that not only of victuals, munition, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnesses, and boats; they also by him to be victualled, manned and furnished to my contentation.

The tenth day he arrived in the road of our bad harborow: and comming there to an anker, the eleventh day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honourably to performe that which in writing and message he had most curteously offered, he having aforehand propounded the matter to all the captaines of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

With such thanks unto him and his captaines for his care both of us and of our action, not as the matter deserved, but as I could both for my company and myselfe, I (being aforehand prepared what I would desire) craved at his hands that it would please him to take with him into England a number of weake and unfit men for any good action, which I would deliver to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with oare-men, artificers, and others.

That he would leave us so much shipping and victuall, as about August then next following would cary me and all my company into England, when we had discovered somewhat, that for lacke of needfull provision in time left with us as yet remained undone.

That it woulde please him withall to leave some sufficient

Masters not onely to cary us into England, when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harborow, if there were any, and especially to helpe us to some small boats and oare-men.

Also for a supply of calievers, hand weapons, match and lead, tooles, apparell, and such like.

He having received these my requests, according to his usuall commendable maner of government (as it was told me) calling his captaines to counsell; the resolution was that I should send such of my officers of my company as I used in such matters, with their notes, to goe aboord with him; which were the Master of the victuals, the Keeper of the store, and the Vicetreasurer: to whom he appointed forthwith for me The Francis, being a very proper barke of 70 tun, and tooke present order for bringing of victual aboord her for 100 men for foure moneths, with all my other demands whatsoever, to the uttermost.

And further, he appointed for me two pinnesses, and foure small boats: and that which was to performe all his former liberality towards us, was that he had gotten the full assents of two of as sufficient experimented Masters as were any in his fleet, by iudgment of them that knew them, with very sufficient gings to tary with me, and to employ themselves most earnestly in the action, as I should appoint them, untill the terme which I promised of our returne into England againe. The names of one of those Masters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Herne.

While these things were in hand, the provision aforesaid being brought, and in bringing aboord, my sayd Masters being also gone aboord, my sayd barks having accepted of their charge, and mine owne officers, with others in like sort of my company with them (all which was dispatched by the sayd Generall the 12 of the sayde moneth) the 13 of the same there arose such an unwoonted storme, and continued foure dayes, that had like to have driven all on shore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand over them, and the Generall very providently foreseene the woorst himselfe, then about my dispatch putting himselfe aboord: but in the end having driven sundry of the fleet to put to Sea the Francis also with all my provisions, my two Masters, and my company aboord, she was seene to be free from the same, and to put cleere to Sea.

This storme having continued from the 13 to the 16 of the moneth, and thus my barke put away as aforesayd, the Generall comming ashore made a new proffer unto me; which was a ship of 170 tunne, called The barke Bonner, with a sufficient Master and guide to tary with me the time appointed, and victualled sufficiently to cary me and my company into England, with all provisions as before: but he tolde me that he would not for any thing undertake to have her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leave her in the road, and to leave the care of the rest unto my selfe, and advised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliver presently unto him in writing what I would require him to doe for us; which being within his power, he did assure me aswell for his Captaines as for himselfe, shoulde be most willingly performed.

Heereupon calling such Captaines and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as privy as my selfe to the Generals offer; their whole request was to me, that considering the case that we stood in, the weaknesse of our company, the small number of the same, the carying away of our first appointed barke, with those two speciall Masters, with our principall provisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched out to take us from thence; considering also, that his second offer, though most honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibility for her with any safety to be brought into the harbour: seeing furthermore, our hope for supply with Sir Richard Greenvill, so undoubtedly promised us before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this yeere, considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America, that therefore I would resolve my selfe with my company to goe into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the Generall in all our names, that he would be pleased to give us present passage with him. Which request of ours by my selfe delivered unto him, hee most readily assented unto: and so he sending immediatly his pinnesses unto our Island for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was so boisterous, and the pinnesses so often on ground, that the most of all we had, with all our Cards, Books and writings were by the Sailers cast overboard, the greater number of the fleet being much agrieved with their long and dangerous abode in that miserable road.

From whence the Generall in the name of the Almighty, weying his ankers (having bestowed us among his fleet) for the reliefe of whom hee had in that storme susteined more perill of wracke then in all his former most honourable actions against the Spanyards, with praises unto God for all, set saile the nineteenth of Iune 1596, and arrived in Portsmouth the seven and twentieth of Iuly the same yeere.

An Extract of Master Ralph Lane's Letter to M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, and another Gentleman of the Middle Temple, from Virginia.

In the meane while you shall understand, that since Sir Richard Greenvils departure from us, as also before, we have discovered the maine to be the goodliest soyle under the cope of heaven, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gummes, grapes of such greatnesse, yet wilde, as France, Spaine nor Italie have no greater, so many sorts of Apothecarie drugs, such severall kindes of flaxe, & one kind like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there, as grasse is here. And now within these few dayes we have found here Maiz or Guinie wheate, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread 400. upon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect sugar, also Terra Samia, otherwise Terra sigillata. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing Territorie of the world: for the continent is of an huge and unknowen greatnesse, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely, and the climate so wholesome, that wee had not one sicke since we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it. For this already we finde, that what commodities soever Spaine, France, Italy, or the East partes doe yeeld unto us, in wines of all sortes, in oyles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch, frankensence, corrans, sugars, and such like, these parts doe abound with the growth of them all, but being Savages that possesse the land, they know no use of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they the West or East Indies, have, here wee finde great abundance of. The people naturally are most courteous and very desirous to have clothes, but especially of course cloth rather then silke, course canvas they also like well of, but copper caryeth the price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and M. H. I have joyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I love dearely well, and commending me most heartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie. From the new Fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585.

Your most assured friend RALPH LANE.

"The name and fame of Sir Walter Raleigh are perpetuated in the name of the capital of one of our States,— a State which I wish bore the name of Roanoke instead of North Carolina, that a double historical lesson might be taught. I wish that there might stand in the centre of the city of Raleigh, which perpetuates this historic name, a worthy monument to the great movement for the English colonization of America. The central figure of that monument should be Sir Walter Raleigh. At Worms, on the banks of the Rhine, where Luther made his memorable protest against the Empire and the Church, is that noblest and most impressive of all monuments, in which the figure of the great reformer is surrounded by the forms of Wyclif, Savonarola, Huss, Melanchthon, the Elector, and the various men who, in the political and intellectual advances of the time and the preceding time, were co-operators with him in that many-sided movement which we call the Reformation. I wish that the movement for the colonization of the New World by our English race, one of the most momentous chapters in history, might have a similar commemoration. Surrounding the central figure of Sir Walter Raleigh should be Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, Davis, Captain John Smith, Bartholomew Gosnold, zealous Richard Hakluyt, and the others. In that notable time there is no figure so romantic as Raleigh's. There was no other mind so generous and so capable, none of so great comprehension and scope as his, concerning the opening of this New World. He it was who, in the pressure and the dangers of that time, most clearly discerned that it was from America that Spain derived so much of her wealth and power. He was inspired by the desire that England should have a foothold here, and that she should supplant Spain in the New World; and at last, after the failure of all the colonies which he sent out, one following another, to occupy new ground here,— at the last, toward the close of his life, the great prophet and believer said, 'America will yet become an English nation.' Let America honor the prophet!" — *Edwin D. Mead.*

Old South Leaflet No. 92 contains the account of the First Voyage to Roanoke, that made in 1584, under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Captains Amadas and Barlowe. This expedition sailed in April, 1584, and arrived back in England the middle of September. The enthusiastic account given by the adventurers delighted Elizabeth as much as it did Raleigh;

and she named the new country Virginia. In April, 1585, Raleigh despatched seven ships from Plymouth under the command of his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, with one hundred householders, to plant a colony at Roanoke. Grenville landed the colony at Roanoke, and left it in charge of Ralph Lane, while he himself returned to England for supplies. Captain Philip Amadas, who had been one of the commanders of the first expedition, remained with Lane; also, Thomas Hariot, whose subsequent account of the country is so interesting and important.

Grenville's return was delayed; and the sufferings of the colonists were so severe that when, in 1586, Sir Francis Drake put in at Roanoke with his fleet, after the sacking of St. Augustine, the whole company returned with him to England. A ship with supplies sent by Raleigh soon arrived, and immediately afterwards Grenville came; but both, finding no one on the island, returned to England. Grenville left fifteen men; but when John White, sent by Raleigh, came the next year, he found that these men had been massacred by the natives. The mysterious disappearance of White's own colony has been the subject of much speculation. It practically ended the attempt to establish a colony at Roanoke, although there were other expeditions.

There are original accounts of all these Roanoke expeditions sent out by Raleigh. These are all found together in Hakluyt, and (in best form) in the fine volume on "Sir Walter Raleigh and his Colony in America," edited by Rev. Increase N. Tarbox, published by the Prince Society. The account of the Grenville expedition is by two hands,—the narrative of the voyage and of proceedings up to Grenville's departure by one person, possibly Grenville himself, and the account of the subsequent fortunes of the colony, that given in the present leaflet, by Lane. A letter from Lane to Hakluyt is prefixed to this account as it appears in Hakluyt's volume; and that letter is given also in this leaflet.

The valuable chapter upon Raleigh in the Narrative and Critical History of America is by William Wirt Henry, and this is followed by a critical essay on the sources of information. A good bibliography also accompanies the article on Raleigh, written by Prof. J. K. Laughton and Sidney Lee in the Dictionary of National Biography. Perhaps the most critical and scholarly of the many biographies of Raleigh is that by Edwards.

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Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk.

The Relation of Captain Gosnold's Voyage to the North part of Virginia, begun the six-and-twentieth of March, Anno 42 *Elizabethæ Reginæ*, 1602, *and delivered by Gabriel Archer, a gentleman in the said voyage.*

The said captain did set sail from Falmouth the day and year above written accompanied with thirty-two persons, whereof eight mariners and sailors, twelve purposing upon the discovery to return with the ship for England, the rest remain there for population. The fourteenth of April following, we had sight of Saint Mary's, an island of the Azores.

The three-and-twentieth of the same, being two hundred leagues westward from the said island, in the latitude of 37 degrees, the water in the main ocean appeared yellow, the space of two leagues north and south, where sounding with thirty fathoms line, we found no ground, and taking up some of the said water in a bucket, it altered not either in color or taste from the sea azure.

The seventh of May following, we first saw many birds in bigness of cliff pigeons, and after divers others as petrels, coots, hagbuts, penguins, mews, gannets, cormorants, gulls, with many else in our English tongue of no name. The eighth of the same the water changed to a yellowish green, where at seventy fathoms we had ground. The ninth, we had two-and-twenty fathoms in fair sandy ground, having upon our lead many glittering stones, somewhat heavy, which might promise some mineral matter in the bottom, we held ourselves by computation, well near the latitude of 43 degrees.

The tenth we sounded in 27, 30, 37, 43 fathoms, and then came to 108. Some thought it to be the sounding of the westernmost end of Saint John's Island; upon this bank we saw sculls of fish in great numbers. The twelfth, we hoisted out hawser of our shallop, and sounding had then eighty fathoms without any current perceived by William Strete the master, one hundred leagues westward from Saint Mary's, till we came to the aforesaid soundings, continually passed fleeting by us sea-oare, which seemed to have their movable course towards the north-east; a matter to set some subtle invention on work, for comprehending the true cause thereof. The thirteenth, we sounded in seventy fathoms, and observed great beds of weeds, much wood, and divers things else floating by us, when as we had smelling of the shore, such as from the southern Cape and Andalusia, in Spain. The fourteenth, about six in the morning, we descried land that lay north, &c., the northerly part we called the north land, which to another rock upon the same lying twelves leagues west, that we called Savage Rock (because the savages first showed themselves there); five leagues towards the said rock is an out point of woody ground, the trees thereof very high and straight, from the rock east-north-east. From the said rock came towards us a Biscay shallop with sail and oars, having eight persons in it, whom we supposed at first to be Christians distressed. But approaching us nearer, we perceived them to be savages. These coming within call, hailed us, and we answered. Then after signs of peace, and a long speech by one of them made, they came boldly aboard us, being all naked, saving about their shoulders certain loose deer skins, and near their wastes seal skins tied fast like to Irish dimmie trowsers. One that seemed to be their commander wore a waistcoat of black work, a pair of breeches, cloth stockings, shoes, hat and band, one or two more had also a few things made by some Christians; these with a piece of chalk described the coast thereabouts, and could name Placentia of the Newfoundland; they spoke divers Christian words, and seemed to understand much more than we, for want of language could comprehend. These people are in color swart, their hair long, uptied with a knot in the part of behind the head. They paint their bodies, which are strong and well proportioned. These much desired our longer stay, but finding ourselves short of our purposed place, we set sail westward, leaving them and their coast. About sixteen leagues south-west from thence we perceived in that course two small islands, the one lying eastward from Savage Rock, the other to the southward of it; the coast we left was full of goodly woods, fair plains, with little green round hills above the cliffs appearing unto us, which are indifferently raised, but all rocky, and of shining stones, which might have persuaded us a longer stay there.

The fifteenth day we had again sight of the land, which made ahead, being as we thought an island, by reason of a large sound that appeared westward between it and the main, for coming to the west end thereof, we did perceive a large opening, we called it Shoal Hope. Near this cape we came to anchor in fifteen fathoms, where we took great store of codfish, for which we altered the name, and called it Cape Cod. Here we saw sculls of herring, mackerel, and other small fish, in great abundance. This is a low sandy shoal, but without danger, also we came to anchor again in sixteen fathoms, fair by the land in the latitude of 42 degrees. This cape is well near a mile broad, and lieth north-east by east. The captain went here ashore and found the ground to be full of pease, strawberries, whortleberries, &c., as then unripe, the sand also by the shore somewhat deep, the firewood there by us taken in was of cypress, birch, witch-hazel and beech. A young Indian came here to the captain, armed with his bow and arrows, and had certain plates of copper hanging at his ears; he showed a willingness to help us in our occasions.

The sixteenth, we trended the coast southerly, which was all champaign and full of grass, but the island somewhat woody. Twelve leagues from Cape Cod, we descried a point with some breach, a good distance off, and keeping our luff to double it, we came on the sudden into shoal water, yet well quitted ourselves thereof. This breach we called Tucker's Terror, upon his expressed fear. The point we named Point Care; having passed it we bore up again with the land, and in the night came with it anchoring in eight fathoms, the ground good.

The seventeenth, appeared many breaches round about us, so as we continued that day without remove.

The eighteenth, being fair we sent forth the boat, to sound over a breach, that in our course lay of another point, by us called Gilbert's Point, who returned us four, five, six, and seven fathoms over. Also, a discovery of divers islands which after proved to be hills and hammocks, distinct within the land. This day there came unto the ship's side divers canoes, the Indians apparelled as aforesaid, with tobacco and pipes steeled with copper, skins, artificial strings and other trifles to barter; one had hanging about his neck a plate of rich copper, in length a foot, in breadth half a foot for a breastplate, the ears of all the rest had pendants of copper. Also, one of them had his face painted over, and head stuck with feathers in manner of a turkey-cock's train. These are more timorous than those of the Savage Rock, yet very thievish.

The nineteenth, we passed over the breach of Gilbert's Point in four or five fathoms, and anchored a league or somewhat more beyond it; between the last two points are two leagues, the interim, along shoal water, the latitude here is 41 degrees two third parts.

The twentieth, by the ship's side, we there killed penguins, and saw many sculls of fish. The coast from Gilbert's Point to the supposed isles lieth east and by south. Here also we discovered two inlets which might promise fresh water, inwardly whereof we perceived much smoke, as though some population had there been. This coast is very full of people, for that as we trended the same savages still run along the shore, as men much admiring at us.

The one-and-twentieth, we went coasting from Gilbert's Point to the supposed isles, in ten, nine, eight, seven, and six fathoms, close aboard the shore, and that depth lieth a league off. A little from the supposed isles, appeared unto us an opening, with which we stood, judging it to be the end of that which Captain Gosnold descried from Cape Cod, and as he thought to extend some thirty or more miles in length, and finding there but three fathoms a league off, we omitted to make further discovery of the same, calling it Shoal Hope.

From this opening the main lieth south-west, which coasting along we saw a disinhabited island, which so afterward appeared unto us: we bore with it, and named it Martha's Vineyard; from Shoal Hope it is eight leagues in circuit, the island is five miles, and hath 41 degrees and one quarter of latitude. The place most pleasant; for the two-and-twentieth, we went ashore, and found it full of wood, vines, gooseberry bushes, whortleberries, raspberries, eglantines, &c. Here we had cranes, stearnes, shoulers, geese, and divers other birds which there at that time upon the cliffs being sandy with some rocky stones, did breed and had young. In this place we saw deer: here we rode in eight fathoms near the shore where we took great store of cod,— as before at Cape Cod, but much better.

The three-and-twentieth we weighed, and towards night came to anchor at the north-west part of this island, where the next morning offered unto us fast running thirteen savages apparelled as aforesaid, and armed with bows and arrows without any fear. They brought tobacco, deer-skins, and some sodden fish. These offered themselves unto us in great familiarity, who seemed to be well-conditioned. They came more rich in copper than any before. This island is sound, and hath no danger about it.

The four-and-twentieth, we set sail and doubled the Cape of another island next unto it, which we called Dover Cliff, and then came into a fair sound, where we rode all night; the next morning we sent off one boat to discover another cape, that lay between us and the main, from which were a ledge of rocks a mile into the sea, but all above water, and without danger; we went about them, and came to anchor in eight fathoms, a quarter of a mile from the shore, in one of the stateliest sounds that ever I was in. This called we Gosnold's Hope; the north bank whereof is the main, which stretcheth east and west. This island Captain Gosnold called Elizabeth's isle, where we determined our abode: the distance between every of these islands is, viz. from Martha's Vineyard to Dover Cliff, half a league over the sound, thence to Elizabeth's isle one league distant. From Elizabeth's island unto the main is four leagues. On the north side, near adjoining unto the island Elizabeth, is an islet in compass half a mile, full of cedars, by me called Hill's Hap, to the northward of which, in the mouth of an opening on the main, appeareth another the like, that I called Hap's Hill, for that I hope much hap may be expected from it.

The five-and-twentieth, it was that we came from Gosnold's Hope. The six-and-twentieth, we trimmed and fitted up our shallop. The seven-and-twentieth, there came unto us an Indian and two women, the one we supposed to be his wife, the other his daughter, both clean and straight-bodied, with countenance sweet and pleasant. To these the Indian gave heedful attendance for that they shewed them in much familiarity with our men, although they would not admit of any immodest touch.

The eight-and-twentieth we entered counsel about our abode and plantation, which was concluded to be in the west part of Elizabeth's island. The north-east thereof running from out our ken. The south and north standeth in an equal parallel.

This island in the westernside admitteth some in creeks, or sandy coves, so girded, as the water in some places of each side meeteth, to which the Indians from the main do oftentimes resort for fishing of crabs. There is eight fathoms very near the shore, and the latitude here is 41 degrees 11 minutes, the breadth from sound to sound in the western part is not passing a mile at most, altogether unpeopled and disinhabited. It is overgrown with wood and rubbish, viz. oaks, ashes, beech, walnut, witch-hazle, sassafras, and cedars, with divers other of unknown names. The rubbish is wild pease, young sassafras, cherry-trees, vines, eglantines, gooseberry bushes, hawthorn, honeysuckles, with others of like quality. The herbs and roots are strawberries, raspberries, ground-nuts, alexander, surrin, tansy, &c. without count. Touching the fertility of the soil by our own experience made, we found it to be excellent for sowing some English pulse; it sprouted out in one fortnight almost half a foot. In this island is a stage or pond of fresh water, in circuit two miles, on the one side not distant from the sea thirty yards, in the centre whereof is a rocky islet, containing near an acre of ground full of wood, on which we began our fort and place of abode, disposing itself so fit for the same. These Indians call gold wassador, which argueth there is thereof in the country.

The nine-and-twentieth, we labored in getting of sassafras, rubbishing our little fort or islet, new keeling our shallop, and making a punt or flat-bottom boat to pass to and fro our fort over the fresh water, the powder of sassafras, in twelve hours cured one of our company that had taken a great surfeit, by eating the bellies of dog fish, a very delicious meat.

The thirtieth, Captain Gosnold, with divers of his company, went upon pleasure in the shallop towards Hill's Hap to view it and the sandy cove, and returning brought with him a canoe that four Indians had there left, being fled away for fear of our English, which we brought into England.

The one-and-thirtieth, Captain Gosnold, desirous to see the main because of the distance, he set sail over; where coming to anchor, went ashore with certain of his company, and immediately there presented unto him men, women, and children, who, with all courteous kindness entertained him, giving him certain skins of wild beasts, which may be rich furs, tobacco, turtles, hemp, artificial strings colored, chains, and such like things as at the instant they had about them. These are a fair-conditioned people. On all the sea-coast along we found mussel shells that in color did represent mother-of-pearl, but not having means to dredge, could not apprehend further knowledge thereof. This main is the goodliest continent that ever we saw, promising more by far than we any way did expect: for it is replenished with fair fields, and in them fragrant flowers, also meadows, and hedged in with stately groves, being furnished also with pleasant brooks, and beautified with two main rivers that (as we judge) may haply become good harbors, and conduct us to the hopes men so greedily do thirst after. In the mouth of one of these inlets or rivers, lieth that little isle before mentioned, called Hap's Hill, from which unto the westernmost end of the main, appearing where the other inlet is, I account some five leagues, and the coast between bendeth like a bow, and lieth east and by north. Beyond these two inlets we might perceive the main to bear up south-west, and more southerly. Thus with this taste of discovery, we now contented ourselves, and the same day made return unto our fort, time not permitting more sparing delay.

The first of June, we employed ourselves in getting sassafras, and the building of our fort. The second, third, and fourth, we wrought hard to make ready our house for the provision to be had ashore to sustain us till our ship's return. This day from the main came to our ship's side a canoe, with their lord or chief commander, for that they made little stay only pointing to the sun, as in sign that the next day he would come and visit us, which he did accordingly.

The fifth, we continued our labor, when there came unto us ashore from the main fifty savages, stout and lusty men with their bows and arrows; amongst them there seemed to be one of authority, because the rest made an inclining respect unto him. The ship was at their coming a league off, and Captain Gosnold aboard, and so likewise Captain Gilbert, who almost never went ashore, the company with me only eight persons. These Indians in hasty manner came towards us, so as we thought fit to make a stand at an angle between the sea and a fresh water; I moved myself towards him seven or eight steps, and clapped my hands first on the sides of mine head, then on my breast, and after presented my musket with a threatening countenance, thereby to signify unto them, either a choice of peace or war, whereupon he using me with mine own signs of peace, I stepped forth and embraced him: his company then all sat down in manner like greyhounds upon their heels, with whom my company fell a bartering. By this time Captain Gosnold was come with twelve men more from aboard, and to show the savage seignior that he was our Captain, we received him in a guard, which he passing through, saluted the seignior with ceremonies of our salutations, whereat he nothing moved or altered himself. Our Captain gave him a straw hat and a pair of knives; the hat awhile he wore, but the knives he beheld with great marvelling, being very bright and sharp; this our courtesy made them all in love with us.

The sixth, being rainy, we spent idly aboard. The seventh, the seignior came again with all his troop as before, and continued with us the most part of the day, we going to dinner about noon, they sat with us and did eat of our bacaleure and mustard, drank of our beer, but the mustard nipping them in their noses they could not endure: it was a sport to behold their faces made being bitten therewith. In time of dinner the savages had stole a target, wherewith acquainting the seignior, with fear and great trembling they restored it again, thinking perhaps we would have been revenged for it, but seeing our familiarity to continue, they fell afresh to roasting of crabs, red herrings, which were exceeding great, ground nuts, &c. as before. Our dinner ended, the seignior first took leave and departed, next all the rest saving four that stayed and went into the wood to help us dig sassafras, whom we desired to go aboard us, which they refused and so departed.

The eighth we divided the victuals, namely, the ship's store for England, and that of the planters, which by Captain Gilbert's allowance could be but six weeks for six months, whereby there fell out a controversy, the rather, for that some seemed secretly to understand of a purpose Captain Gilbert had not to return with supply of the issue, those goods should make by him to be carried home. Besides, there wanted not ambitious conceits in the minds of some wrangling and ill-disposed persons who overthrew the stay there at that time, which upon consultation thereof had, about five days after was fully resolved all for England again. There came in this interim aboard unto us, that stayed all night, an Indian, whom we used kindly, and the next day sent ashore; he showed himself the most sober of all the rest, we held him sent as a spy. In the morning, he filched away our pothooks, thinking he had not done any ill therein; being ashore we bid him strike fire, which with an emerald stone (such as the glaziers use to cut glass) he did. I take it to be the very same that in Latin is called *smiris*, for striking therewith upon touch-wood that of purpose he had, by means of a mineral stone used therein, sparkles proceeded and forthwith kindled with making of flame. The ninth, we continued working on our storehouse, for as yet remained in us a desired resolution of making stay. The tenth, Captain Gosnold fell down with the ship to the little islet of cedars, called Hill's Hap, to take in cedar wood, leaving me and nine more in the fort, only with three meals meat, upon promise to return the next day.

The eleventh, he came not, neither sent, whereupon I commanded four of my company to seek out for crabs, lobsters, turtles, &c. for sustaining us till the ships returned, which was gone clean out of sight, and had the wind chopped up at south-west, with much difficulty would she have been able in short time to have made return. These four purveyors, whom I counselled to keep together for their better safety, divided themselves, two going one way and two another, in search as aforesaid. One of these petty companies was assaulted by four Indians, who with arrows did shoot and hurt one of the two in his side, the other, a lusty and nimble fellow, leaped in and cut their bow strings, whereupon they fled. Being late in the evening, they were driven to lie all night in the woods, not knowing the way home through the thick rubbish, as also the weather somewhat stormy. The want of these sorrowed us much, as not able to conjecture anything of them unless very evil.

The twelfth, those two came unto us again, whereat our joy was increased, yet the want of our Captain, that promised to return, as aforesaid, struck us in a dumpish terror, for that he performed not the same in the space of almost three days. In the mean we sustained ourselves with alexander and sorrel pottage, ground-nuts, and tobacco, which gave nature a reasonable content. We heard at last, our Captain to 'lewre' unto us, which made such music as sweeter never came unto poor men.

The thirteenth, began some of our company that before vowed to stay, to make revolt: whereupon the planters diminishing, all was given over. The fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth, we spent in getting sassafras and fire-wood of cedar, leaving house and little fort, by ten men in nineteen days sufficient made to harbor twenty persons at least with their necessary provisions.

The seventeenth, we set sail, doubling the rocks of Elizabeth's island, and passing by Dover Cliff, came to anchor at Martha's Vineyard, being five leagues distant from our fort, where we went ashore, and had young cranes, herneshowes, and geese, which now were grown to pretty bigness.

The eighteenth, we set sail and bore for England, cutting off our shallop, that was well able to land five and twenty men or more, a boat very necessary for the like occasions. The winds do range most commonly upon this coast in the summer time, westerly. In our homeward course we observed the foresaid floating weeds to continue till we came within two hundred leagues of Europe. The three-and-twentieth of July we came to anchor before Exmouth.

Master Bartholomew Gosnold's Letter to his Father, touching his first voyage to Virginia, 1602.

My duty remembered, &c. Sir, I was in good hope that my occasions would have allowed me so much liberty, as to have come unto you before this time; otherwise I would have written more at large concerning the country from whence we lately came, than I did: but not well remembering what I have already written (though I am assured that there is nothing set down disagreeing with the truth,) I thought it fittest not to go about to add anything in writing, but rather to leave the report of the rest till I come myself; which now I hope shall be shortly, and so soon as with conveniency I may. In the mean time, notwithstanding whereas you seem not to be satisfied by that which I have already written, concerning some especial matters; I have here briefly (and as well as I can) added these few lines for your further satisfaction: and first, as touching that place where we were most resident, it is the latitude of 41 degrees, and one third part; which albeit it be so much to the southward, yet is it more cold than those parts of Europe, which are situated under the same parallel: but one thing is worth the noting, that notwithstanding the place is not so much subject to cold as England is, yet did we find the spring to be later there, than it is with us here, by almost a month: this whether it happened accidentally this last spring to be so, or whether it be so of course, I am not very certain; the latter seems most likely, whereof also there may be given some sufficient reason, which now I omit; as for the acorns we saw gathered on heaps, they were of the last year, but doubtless their summer continues lònger than ours.

We cannot gather, by anything we could observe in the people, or by any trial we had thereof ourselves, but that it is as healthful a climate as any can be. The inhabitants there, as I wrote before, being of tall stature, comely proportion, strong, active, and some of good years, and as it should seem very healthful, are sufficient proof of the healthfulness of the place. First, for ourselves (thanks be to God) we had not a man sick two days together in all our voyage; whereas others that went out with us, or about that time on other voyages (especially such as went upon reprisal,) were most of them infected with sickness, whereof they lost some of their men, and brought home a many sick, returning notwithstanding long before us. But Verazzano, and others (as I take it, you may read in the Book of Discoveries,) do more particularly entreat of the age of the people in that coast. The sassafras which we brought we had upon the islands; where though we had little disturbance, and reasonable plenty; yet for that the greatest part of our people were employed about the fitting of our house, and such like affairs, and a few (and those but easy laborers) undertook this work, the rather because we were informed before our going forth, that a ton was sufficient to cloy England, and further, for that we had resolved upon our return, and taken view of our victual, we judged it then needful to use expedition; which afterward we had more certain proof of; for when we came to an anchor before Portsmouth, which was some four days after we made the land, we had not one cake of bread, nor any drink, but a little vinegar left: for these and other reasons, we returned no otherwise laden than you have heard. And thus much I hope shall suffice till I can myself come to give you further notice, which though it be not so soon as I could have wished, yet I hope it shall be in convenient time.

In the mean time, craving your pardon, for which the urgent occasions of my stay will plead, I humbly take my leave.

7th September, 1602.

Your dutiful son,

BARTH. GOSNOLD.

Bartholomew Gosnold sailed from Falmouth, England, March 25, 1602, in command of the "Concord" and the "Dartmouth," Sir Walter Raleigh and others being interested in his expedition He made the New England coast May 14, in latitude 43°, and, coasting south, discovered Cape Cod, which he so named from the abundance of codfish. Sailing round the cape, the company discovered and named Martha's Vineyard; and they established a settlement on the island of Cuttyhunk, which they gave the name of Elizabeth's Island. This was the first English settlement in New England. Its life was of but a few weeks' duration, however, all soon returning to England. Gosnold was active in promoting the expedition which formed the settlement of Jamestown, Va., in 1607, and was himself a member of the first council at Jamestown. His life at Jamestown, however, was short. He died there Aug. 22, 1607.

The name of the Elizabeth Islands is now applied to the entire group of islands,— thirteen in number, large and small,— of which Cuttyhunk is one; and Gosnold is the name given to the township which these constitute.

Among Gosnold's associates in the expedition of 1602 were Gabriel Archer and John Brereton, both of whom wrote accounts of the expedition, which were afterwards included by Purchas in his "Pilgrimes." Captain John Smith tells us that it was Brereton's narrative which stirred in him the desire for similar American adventures, and led him to join the colony which came to Jamestown. Both Archer's and Brereton's accounts were reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xxviii., 1843. Archer's account is reprinted from this in the present leaflet. A critical edition of Brereton's work is being prepared by George Parker Winship. See articles on Gosnold and Brereton in the Dictionary of National Biography. Captain Gabriel Archer took part in the Jamestown enterprise; and a letter of his written from Jamestown in 1609 may be found in Archer's edition of the works of Captain John Smith.

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A Description of New England.

By CAPTAINE JOHN SMITH.

In the moneth of Aprill, 1614. with two Ships from *London*, of a few Marchants, I chanced to arrive in *New-England*, a parte of *Ameryca*, at the Ile of *Monahiggan*, in 43½ of Northerly latitude: our plot was there to take Whales and make tryalls of a Myne of Gold and Copper. If those failed, Fish and Furres was then our refuge, to make our selves savers howsoever: we found this Whalefishing a costly conclusion: we saw many, and spent much time in chasing them; but could not kill any: They beeing a kinde of Iubartes, and not the Whale that yeeldes Finnes and Oyle as wee expected. For our Golde, it was rather the Masters device to get a voyage that proiected it, then any knowledge hee had at all of any such matter. Fish and Furres was now our guard: and by our late arrival, and long lingring about the Whale, the prime of both those seasons were past ere wee perceived it; we thinking that their seasons served at all times: but wee found it otherwise; for by the midst of Iune, the fishing failed. Yet in Iuly and August some was taken, but not sufficient to defray so great a charge as our stay required. Of dry fish we made about 40000. of Cor. fish about 7000. Whilest the sailers fished, my selfe with eight or nine others of them might best bee spared; Ranging the coast in a small boat, wee got for trifles neer 1100 Bever skinnes, 100 Martins, and neer as many Otters; and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues. We ranged the Coast both East and West much furder; but Eastwards our commodities were not esteemed, they were so neare the French who affords them better: and right against us in the Main was a Ship of Sir

Frances Popphames, that had there such acquaintance, having many yeares used onely that porte, that the most parte there was had by him. And 40 leagues westwards were two French Ships, that had made there a great voyage by trade, during the time wee tryed those conclusions, not knowing the Coast, nor Salvages habitation. With these Furres, the Traine, and Corfish I returned for *England* in the Bark: where within six monthes after our departure from the *Downes*, we safe arrived back. The best of this fish was solde for five pound the hundreth, the rest by ill usage betwixt three pound and fifty shillings. The other Ship staied to fit herselfe for *Spaine* with the dry fish which was sould, by the Sailers reporte that returned, at forty ryalls the quintall, each hundred weighing two quintalls and a halfe.

New England is that part of *America* in the Ocean Sea opposite to *Nova Albyon* in the South Sea; discovered by the most memorable Sir *Francis Drake* in his voyage about the worlde. In regarde whereto this is stiled *New England*, beeing in the same latitude. *New France*, off it, is Northward: Southwardes is *Virginia*, and all the adioyning Continent, with *New Granada*, *New Spain*, *New Andolosia* and the *West Indies*. Now because I have been so oft asked such strange questions, of the goodnesse and greatnesse of those spatious Tracts of land, how they can bee thus long unknown, or not possessed by the *Spaniard*, and many such like demands; I intreat your pardons, if I chance to be too plaine, or tedious in relating my knowledge for plaine mens satisfaction.

Florida is the next adioyning to the *Indies*, which unprosperously was attempted to bee planted by the *French*. A Country farre bigger then *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, yet little knowne to any Christian, but by the wonderful endevours of *Ferdinando de Soto* a valiant *Spaniard:* whose writings in this age is the best guide knowne to search those parts.

Virginia is no Ile (as many doe imagine) but part of the Continent adioyning to *Florida;* whose bounds may be stretched to the magnitude thereof without offence to any Christian inhabitant. For from the degrees of 30. to 45. his Maiestie hath granted his Letters patents, the Coast extending South-west and North-east aboute 1500 miles; but to follow it aboard, the shore may well be 2000. at the least: of which, 20. miles is the most gives entrance to the Bay of *Chisapeak*, where is the *London* plantation: within which is a Country (as you may perceive by the description in a Booke and Map printed in my name of that little I there discovered) may well suffice 300000 people to inhabit. And Southward adioyneth that part discovered at the charge of Sir *Walter Rawley*, by Sir *Ralph Lane*, and that learned Mathematician Mr. *Thomas Heryot.* Northward six or seaven degrees is the River *Sagadahock*, where was planted the Westerne Colony, by that Honourable Patrone of vertue Sir *Iohn Poppham* Lord chief Iustice of *England.* Ther is also a relation printed by Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnould*, of *Elizabeths Iles:* and an other by Captaine *Waymoth*, of *Pemmaquid.* From all these diligent observers, posterity may be bettered by the fruits of their labours. But for divers others that long before and since have ranged those parts, within a kenning sometimes of the shore, some touching in one place some in another, I must entreat them pardon me for omitting them; or if I offend in saying that their true descriptions are concealed, or never well observed, or died with the Authors: so that the Coast is yet still but even as a Coast unknowne and undiscovered. I have had six or seaven severall plots of those Northren parts, so unlike each to other, and most so differing from any true proportion, or resemblance of the Countrey, as they did mee no more good, then so much waste paper, though they cost me more. It may be it was not my chance to see the best; but least others may be deceived as I was, or through dangerous ignorance hazard themselves as I did, I have drawen a Map from Point to Point, Ile to Ile, and Harbour to Harbour, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks, and Land-marks as I passed close aboard the Shore in a little Boat; although there be many things to bee observed which the haste of other affaires did cause me omit: for, being sent more to get present commodities, then knowledge by discoveries for any future good, I had not power to search as I would: yet it will serve to direct any shall goe that waies, to safe Harbours and the Salvages habitations: What marchandize and commodities for their labour they may finde, this following discourse shall plainely demonstrate.

Thus you may see, of this 2000. miles more than halfe is yet unknowne to any purpose: no not so much as the borders of the Sea are yet certainly discovered. As for the goodnes and true substances of the Land, wee are for most part yet altogether ignorant of them, unlesse it be those parts about the Bay of *Chisapeack* and *Sagadahock:* but onely here and there wee touched or have seene a little the edges of those large dominions, which doe stretch themselves into the Maine, God doth know how many thousand miles; whereof we can yet no more iudge, then a stranger that saileth betwixt *England* and *France* can describe the Harbors and dangers by landing here or there in some River or Bay, tell thereby the goodnesse and substances of *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Hungaria* and the rest. By this you may perceive how much they erre, that think every one which hath been at *Virginia* understandeth or knowes what *Virginia* is: Or that the *Spaniards* know one halfe quarter of those Territories they possesse; no, not so much as the true circumference of *Terra Incognita*, whose large dominions may equalize the greatnesse and goodnes of *America*, for any thing yet known. It is strange with what small power hee hath raigned in the *East Indies;* and few will understand the truth of his strength in *America:* where he having so much to keepe with such a pampered force, they neede not greatly feare his furie, in the *Bermudas*, *Virginia*, *New France*, or *New England;* beyond whose bounds *America* doth stretch many thousand miles: into the frozen partes whereof one Master *Hutson* an English Mariner did make the greatest discoverie of any Christian I knowe of, where he unfortunately died. For *Affrica*, had not the industrious Portugales ranged her unknowne parts, who would have fought for wealth among those fryed Regions of blacke brutish Negers, where notwithstanding all the wealth and admirable adventures and endeavours more than 140 yeares, they knowe not one third of those blacke habitations. But it is not a worke for every one, to manage such an affaire as makes a discoverie, and plants a Colony: It requires all the best parts of Art, Iudgement, Courage, Honesty, Constancy, Diligence and Industrie, to doe but neere well. Some are more proper for one thing then another; and therein are to be imployed: and nothing breedes more confusion than misplacing and misimploying men in their undertakings. *Columbus*, *Cortez*, *Pitzara*, *Soto*, *Magellanes*, and the rest served more than a prentiship to learne how to begin their most memorable attempts in the *West Indies;* which to the wonder of all ages successfully they effected, when many hundreds of others farre above them in the worlds opinion, beeing instructed but by relation, came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtlesse in other matters, were both wise, discreet, generous, and couragious. I say not this to detract any thing from their incomparable merits, but to answer those questionlesse questions that keep us back from imitating the worthinesse of their brave spirits that advanced themselves from poore Souldiers to great Captaines, their posterity to great Lords, their King to be one of the greatest Potentates on earth, and the fruites of their labours, his greatest glory, power and renowne.

That part wee call *New England* is betwixt the degrees of 41. and 45: but that parte this discourse speaketh of, stretcheth but from *Pennobscot* to *Cape Cod*, some 75 leagues by a right line distant each from other: within which bounds I have seene at least 40. severall habitations upon the Sea Coast, and founded about 25 excellent good Harbours; In many whereof there is ancorage for 500. sayle of ships of any burthen; in some of them for 5000: And more than 200 Iles overgrowne, with good timber, of divers sorts of wood, which doe make so many harbours as requireth a longer time than I had, to be well discovered.

The principall habitation Northward we were at was *Penobscot:* Southward along the Coast and up the Rivers we found *Mecadacut*, *Segocket*, *Pemmaquid*, *Nusconcus*, *Kenebeck*, *Sagadahock*, and *Aumoughcawgen;* And to those Countries belong the people of *Segotago*, *Paghhuntanuck*, *Pocopassum*, *Taughtanakagnet*, *Warbigganus*, *Nassaque*, *Masherosqueck*, *Wawrigweck*, *Moshoquen*, *Wakcogo*, *Pasharanack*, *&c.* To these are allied the Countries of *Aucocisco*, *Accominticus*, *Passataquack*, *Aggawom* and *Naemkeck:* all these, I could perceive, differ little in language, fashion, or government: though most be Lords of themselves, yet they hold the *Bashabes*, of *Pennobscot*, the chiefe and greatest amongst them.

The next I can remember by name are *Mattahunts;* two pleasant Iles of groves, gardens and corne fields a league in the Sea from the Mayne. Then *Totant*, *Massachuset*, *Pocapawmet*, *Quonahassit*, *Sagoquas*, *Nahapassumkeck*, *Topeent*, *Seccasaw*, *Totheet*, *Nasnocomacak*, *Accomack*, *Chawum;* Then *Cape Cod* by which is *Pawmet and* the Ile *Nawset* of the language, and alliance of them of *Chawum:* The others are called *Massachusets;* of another language, humor and condition: For their trade and marchandize; to each of their habitations they have diverse Townes and people belonging; and by their relations and descriptions, more than 20 severall Habitations and Rivers that stretch themselves farre up into the Countrey, even to the borders of diverse great Lakes, where they kill and take most of their Bevers and Otters. From *Pennobscot* to *Sagadahock* this Coast is all Mountainous and Iles of huge Rocks, but overgrowen with all sorts of excellent good woodes for building houses, boats, barks or shippes; with an incredible abundance of most sorts of fish, much fowle, and sundry sorts of good fruites for mans use.

Betwixt *Sagadahock* and *Sowocatuck* there is but two or three sandy Bayes, but betwixt that and *Cape Cod* very many: especialy the Coast of the *Massachusets* is so indifferently mixed with high clayie or sandy cliffes in one place, and then tracts of large long ledges of divers sorts, and quarries of stones in other places so strangely divided with trinctured veines of divers colours: as, Free stone for building, Slate for tiling, smooth stone to make Fornaces and Forges for glasse or iron, and iron ore sufficient, conveniently to melt in them: but the most part so resembleth the Coast of *Devonshire*, I thinke most of the cliffes would make such limestone: If they be not of these qualities, they are so like, they may deceive a better iudgement then mine; all which are so neere adioyning to those other advantages I observed in these parts, that if the Ore prove as good iron and steele in those parts, as I know it is within the bounds of the Countrey, I dare engage my head (having but men skilfull to worke the simples there growing) to have all things belonging to the building the rigging of shippes of any proportion, and good marchandize for the fraught, within a square of 10 or 14 leagues: and were it for a good rewarde, I would not feare to procure it in a lesse limitation.

And surely by reason of those sandy cliffes and cliffes of rocks, both which we saw so planted with Gardens and Corne fields, and so well inhabited with a goodly, strong and well proportioned people, besides the greatnesse of the Timber growing on them, the greatnesse of the fish and moderate temper of the ayre (for of twentie five, not any was sicke, but two that were many yeares diseased before they went notwithstanding our bad lodging and accidentall diet) who can but approove this is a most excellent place, both for health and fertility? And of all the foure parts of the world that I have yet seene not inhabited, could I have but meanes to transport a Colonie, I would rather live here than any where: and if it did not maintaine it selfe, were wee but once indifferently well fitted, let us starve.

The maine Staple, from hence to bee extracted for the present to produce the rest, is fish; which however it may seeme a mean and a base commoditie: yet who will but truely take the pains and consider the sequell, I thinke will allow it well worth the labour. It is strange to see what great adventures the hopes of setting forth men of war to rob the industrious innocent, would procure: or such massie promises in grosse: though more are choked then well fedde with such hastie hopes. But who doth not know that the poore Hollanders, chiefly by fishing, at a great charge and labour in all weathers in the open Sea, are made a people so hardy, and industrious? and by the venting this poore commodity to the Easterlings for as meane, which is Wood, Flax, Pitch, Tarre, Rosin, Cordage, and such like (which they exchange againe, to the French, Spaniards, Portugales, and English, &c. for what they want) are made so mighty, strong and rich, as no State but *Venice*, of twice their magnitude, is so well furnished with so many faire Cities, goodly Townes, strong Fortresses, and that aboundance of shipping and all sorts of marchandize, as well of Golde, Silver, Pearles, Diamonds, Pretious stones, Silkes, Velvets, and Cloth of golde; as Fish, Pitch, Wood, or such grosse commodities? What Voyages and Discoveries, East and West, North and South, yea about the world, make they? What an Army by Sea and Land, have they long maintained in despite of one of the greatest Princes of the world? And never could the Spaniard with all his Mynes of golde and Silver, pay his debts, his friends, and army, halfe so truly, as the Hollanders stil have done by this contemptible trade of fish. Divers (I know) may alledge, many other assistances: But this is their Myne; and the Sea the source of those silvered streams of all their vertue; which hath made them now the very miracle of industrie, the pattern of perfection for these affaires: and the benefit of fishing is that *Primum mobile* that turns all their *Spheres* to this height of plentie, strength, honour and admiration.

Herring, Cod, and Ling, is that triplicitie that makes their wealth and shippings multiplicities, such as it is, and from which (few would thinke it) they yearly draw at least one million and a halfe of pounds starling; yet it is most certaine (if records be true:) and in this faculty they are so naturalized, and of their vents so certainly acquainted, as there is no likelihood they will ever bee paralleld, having 2 or 3000 Busses, Flat bottomes, Sword pinks, Todes, and such like, that breedes them Saylers, Mariners, Souldiers and Marchants, never to be wrought out of that trade, and fit for any other. I will not deny but others may gaine as well as they, that will use it, though not so certainely, nor so much in quantity; for want of experience. And this Herring they take upon the Coast of *Scotland* and *England;* their Cod and Ling, upon the Coast of *Izeland* and in the North Seas.

Hamborough, and the *East Countries*, for Sturgion and Caviare, gets many thousands of pounds from *England*, and the *Straites: Portugale*, the *Biskaines*, and the *Spaniards*, make 40 or 50 Saile yearely to *Cape-blank*, to hooke for Porgos, Mullet, and make *Puttardo:* and *New found Land*, doth yearely fraught neere 800 sayle of Ships with a sillie leane skinny Poore-Iohn, and Corfish, which at least yearely amounts to 3 or 400000 pound. If from all those parts such paines is taken for this poore gaines of fish, and by them hath neither meate, drinke, nor clothes, wood, iron, nor steele, pitch, tarre, nets, leades, salt, hookes, nor lines, for shipping, fishing, nor provision, but at the second, third, fourth, or fifth hand, drawne from so many severall parts of the world ere they come together to be used in this voyage: If these I say can gaine, and the Saylers live going for shares, lesse then the third part of their labours, and yet spend as much time in going and comming, as in staying there, so short is the season of fishing; why should wee more doubt, then *Holland*, *Portugale*, *Spaniard*, *French*, or other, but to doe much better then they, where there is victuall to feede us, wood of all sorts, to build Boats, Ships, or Barks; the fish at our doores, pitch, tarre, masts, yards, and most of other necessaries onely for making? And here are no hard Landlords to racke us with high rents, or extorted fines to consume us, no tedious pleas in law to consume us with their many years disputations for Iustice: no multitudes to occasion such impediments to good orders, as in popular States. So freely hath God and his Maiesty bestowed those blessings on them that will attempt to obtaine them, as here every man may be master and owne labour and land; or the greatest part in a small time. If hee have nothing but his hands, he may set up this trade:

and by industrie quickly grow rich; spending but halfe that time wel, which in *England* we abuse in idlenes, worse or as ill. Here is ground also as good as any lyeth in the height of forty one, forty two, forty three, &c. which is as temperate and as fruitfule as any other paralell in the world. As for example, on this side the line West of it in the South Sea, is *Nova Albion*, discovered as is said, by Sir *Francis Drake.* East from it, is the most temperate part of *Portugale*, the ancient kingdomes of *Galazia*, *Biskey*, *Navarre*, *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, *Castilia* the olde, and the most moderatest of *Castilia* the new, and *Valentia*, which is the greatest part of *Spain:* which if the *Spanish* Histories bee true, in the *Romanes* time abounded no lesse with golde and silver Mines, then now the *West Indies;* The *Romanes* then using the *Spaniards* to work in those Mines, as now the *Spaniard* doth the *Indians.*

In *France*, the Provinces of *Gasconie*, *Langadock*, *Avignon*, *Province*, *Dolphine*, *Pyamont*, and *Turyne*, are in the same parallel: which are the best and richest parts of *France.* In *Italy*, the provinces of *Genua*, *Lumbardy*, and *Verona*, with a great part of the most famous State of *Venice*, the Dukedoms of *Bononia*, *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Ravenna*, *Bolognia*, *Florence*, *Pisa*, *Sienna*, *Urbine*, *Ancona*, and the ancient Citie and Countrey of *Rome*, with a great part of the great Kingdome of *Naples.* In *Slavonia*, *Istrya*, and *Dalmatia*, with the Kingdomes of *Albania.* In *Grecia*, that famous Kingdome of *Macedonia*, *Bulgaria*, *Thessalia*, *Thracia*, or *Romania*, where is seated the most pleasant and plentifull Citie in *Europe*, *Constantinople.* In *Asia* also, in the same latitude, are the temperatest parts of *Natolia*, *Armenia*, *Persia*, and *China*, besides divers other large Countries and Kingdomes in these most milde and temperate Regions of *Asia.* Southward, in the same height, is the richest of golde Mynes, *Chily* and *Baldivia*, and the mouth of the great River of *Plate*, &c: for all the rest of the world in that height is yet unknowne. Besides these reasons, mine owne eyes that have seene a great part of those Cities and their Kingdomes, as well as it, can finde no advantage they have in nature, but this. They are beautified by the long labor and diligence of industrious people and Art. This is onely as God made it, when he created the worlde. Therefore I conclude, if the heart and intralls of those Regions were sought: if their Land were cultured, planted and manured by men of industrie, iudgement, and experience; what hope is there, or what neede they doubt, having those advantages of the Sea, but it might equalize any of those famous Kingdomes, in all commodities, pleasures, and conditions? seeing even the very edges doe naturally afford us such plenty, as no ship need returne away empty; and onely use but the season of the Sea, fish will returne an honest gaine, beside all other advantages; her treasures having yet never beene opened, nor her originalls wasted, consumed, nor abused.

And whereas it is said, the *Hollanders* serve the *Easterlings* themselves, and other parts that want with Herring, Ling, and wet Cod; the *Easterlings*, a great part of *Europe*, with Sturgion and Caviare; *Cape-blanke*, *Spain*, *Portugale*, and the *Levant*, with Mullet, and Puttargo; *New found Land*, all *Europe*, with a thin Poore Iohn; yet all is so overlade with fishers, as the fishing decayeth, and many are constrained to returne with a small fraught. *Norway*, and *Polonia*, Pitch, Tar, Masts, and Yardes; *Sweathland*, and *Russia* Iron, and Ropes; *France*, and *Spaine*, Canvas, Wine, Steele, Iron, and Oyle; *Italy* and *Greece*, Silks, and Fruites. I dare boldly say, because I have seen naturally growing, or breeding in those parts the same materialls that all those are made of, they may as well be had here, or the most part of them, within the distance of 70 leagues for some few ages, as from all those parts; using but the same meanes to have them that they doe, and with all those advantages.

First, the ground is so fertill, that questionless it is capable of producing any Grain, Fruits, or Seeds you will sow or plant, growing in the Regions afore named: But it may be, not every kinde to that perfection of delicacy; or some tender plants may miscarie, because the Summer is not so hot, and the winter is more colde in those parts wee have yet tryed neere the Sea side, then we finde in the same height in *Europe* or *Asia;* Yet I made a Garden upon the top of a Rockie Ile in 43.½, 4 leagues from the Main, in May, that grew so well, as it served us for sallets in Iune and Iuly. All sorts of cattell may here be bred and fed in the Iles, or *Peninsulaes*, securely for nothing. In the *Interim* till they encrease if need be (observing the seasons) I durst undertake to have corne enough from the Salvages for 300 men, for a few trifles; and if they should bee untoward (as it is most certaine they are) thirty or forty good men will be sufficient to bring them all in subiection, and make this provision; if they understand what they doe: 200 whereof may nine monethes in the yeare be imployed in making marchandable fish, till the rest provide other necessaries, fit to furnish us with other commodities.

In March, April, May, and halfe Iune, here is Cod in abundance; in May, Iune, Iuly, and August Mullet and Sturgion; whose roes doe make Caviare and Puttargo. Herring, if any desire them, I have taken many out of the bellies of Cod, some in nets; but the Salvages compare their store in the Sea, to the haires of their heads: and surely there are an incredible abundance upon this Coast. In the end of August, September, October, and November, you have Cod againe to make Cor fish, or Poore Iohn: and each hundred is as good as two or three hundred in the *New-found Land*. So that halfe the labour in hooking, splitting, and turning, is saved: and you may have your fish at what Market you will, before they can have any in *New-found Land:* where their fishing is chiefly but in Iune and Iuly: whereas it is heere in March, April, May, September, October, and November, as is said. So that by reason of this plantation, the Marchants may have fraught both out and home: which yeelds an advantage worth consideration.

Your Cor-fish you may in like manner transport as you see cause, to serve the Ports in *Portugale* (as *Lisbon*, *Avera*, *Porta port*, and divers others, or what market you please) before your *Ilanders* returne: They being tyed to the season in the open sea; you having a double season, and fishing before your doors, may every night sleep quietly a shore with good cheare and what fires you will, or when you please with your wives and familie: they onely, their ships in the maine Ocean.

The Mullets heere are in that abundance, you may take them with nets, sometimes by hundreds, where at *Cape blank* they hooke them; yet those but one foot and a halfe in length; these two, three, or foure, as oft I have measured: much Salmon some have found up the Rivers, as they have passed: and heer the ayre is so temperate, as all these at any time may well be preserved.

Now, young boyes and girles Salvages, or any other, be they never such idlers, may turne, carry, and return fish, without either shame or any great paine: hee is very idle that is past twelve yeares of age and cannot doe so much: and she is very olde, that cannot spin a thred to make engines to catch them.

For their transportation, the ships that go there to fish may transport the first: who for their passage will spare the charge of double manning their ships, which they must doe in *New-found Land*, to get their fraught; but one third part of that companie are onely but proper to serve a stage, carry a barrow, and turne Poor Iohn: notwithstanding, they must have meate, drinke, clothes, and passage, as well as the rest. Now all I desire, is but this; That those that voluntarily will send shipping, should make here the best choice they can, or accept such as are presented them, to serve them at that rate: and their ships returning leave such with me, with the value of that they should receive comming home, in such provisions and necessarie tooles, armes, bedding and apparell, salt, hookes, nets, lines, and such like as they spare of the remainings; who till the next returne may keepe their boates and doe them many other profitable offices: provided I have men of ability to teach them their functions, and a company fit for Souldiers to be Ready upon an occasion; because of the abuses which have beene offered the poore Salvages, and the liberty both French or any that will, hath to deale with them as they please: whose disorders will be hard to reforme; and the longer the worse. Now such order with facilitie might be taken, with every port Towne or Citie, to observe but this order, With free power to convert the benefits of their fraughts to what advantage they please, and increase their numbers as they see occasion; who ever as they are able to subsist of themselves, may beginne the new Townes in *New England* in memory of their olde: which freedome being confined but to the necessity of the generall good, the event (with Gods helpe) might produce an honest, a noble, and a profitable emulation.

Salt upon salt may assuredly be made; if not at the first in ponds, yet till they bee provided this may be used: then the Ships may transport Kine, Horse, Goates, course Cloath, and such commodities as we want; by whose arrivall may be made that provision of fish to fraught the Ships that they stay not: and then if the sailers goe for wages, it matters not. It is hard if this returne defray not the charge: but care must be had, they arrive in the Spring, or else provision be made for them against the Winter.

Of certaine red berries called Alkermes which is worth ten shillings a pound, but of these hath been sould for thirty or forty shillings the pound, may yearely be gathered a good quantitie.

Of the Musk Rat may bee well raised gaines, well worth their labour, that will endevor to make tryall of their goodnesse.

Of Bevers, Otters, Martins, Blacke Foxes, and Furres of price, may yearely be had 6 or 7000: and if the trade of the *French* were prevented, many more: 25000 this yeare were brought from those Northren parts into *France;* of which trade we may have as good part as the *French*, if we take good courses.

Of Mynes of Golde and Silver, Copper, and probabilities of Lead, Christall and Allum, I could say much if relations were good assurances. It is true indeed, I made many trials according to those instructions I had, which doe perswade mee I need not despaire, but there are metalls in the Countrey: but I am no Alchymist, nor will promise more then I know: which is, Who will undertake the rectifying of an Iron forge, if those that buy meate, drinke, coals, ore, and all necessaries at a deer rate gaine; where all these things are to be had for the taking up, in my opinion cannot lose.

Of woods, seeing there is such plenty of all sorts, if those that build ships and boates, buy wood at so great a price, as it is in *England*, *Spaine*, *France*, *Italy*, and *Holland*, and all other provisions for the nourishing of mans life; live well by their trade: when labour is all required to take those necessaries without any other tax; what hazard will be here, but doe much better? And what commoditie in *Europe* doth more decay then wood? For the goodnesse of the ground, let us take it fertill, or barren, or as it is: seeing it is certaine it beares fruites, to nourish and feed man and beast, as well as *England*, and the Sea those severall sorts of fish I have related. Thus seeing all good provisions for mans sustenance, may with this facility be had, by a little extraordinarie labour, till that transported be increased; and all necessaries for shipping, onely for labour: to which may bee added the assistance of the Salvages, which may easily be had, if they be discreetly handled in their kindes, towards fishing, planting and destroying woods. What gaines might be raised if this were followed (when there is but once men to fill your store houses, dwelling there, you may serve all *Europe* better and farre cheaper, then can the *Izeland* fishers, or the *Hollanders*, *Cape blank*, or *New found Land:* who must be at as much more charge than you) may easily be coniectured by his example.

2000. pound will fit out a ship of 200. and 1 of a 100 tuns: If the dry fish they both made, fraught that of 200. and goe for *Spaine*, sell it but at ten shillings a quintall; but commonly it giveth fifteen, or twentie; especially when it commeth first, which amounts to 3 or 4000 pound: but say but tenne, which is the lowest, allowing the rest for waste, it amounts at that rate, to 2000 pound, which is the whole charge of your two ships, and their equipage: Then the returne of the money, and the fraught of the ship for the vintage, or any other voyage, is cleere gaine, with your shippe of a 100 tuns of Train and oyle, besides the bevers, and other commodities; and that you may have at home within six monethes, if God please but to send an ordinarie passage. Then saving halfe this charge by the not staying of your ships, your victual, overplus of men and wages; with her fraught thither of things necessarie for the planters, the salt being there made: as also may the nets and lines, within a short time: if nothing were to bee expected but this, it might in time equalize your *Hollanders* gaines, if not exceed them: they returning but wood, pitch, tarre, and such grosse commodities; you wines, oyles, fruits, silkes, and such *Straits* commodities, as you please to provide by your Factors, against such times as your shippes arrive with them. This would so increase our shipping and sailers, and so employ and encourage a great part of our idlers and others that want imployments fitting their qualities at home, where they shame to doe that they would doe abroad; that could they but once taste the sweet fruites of their owne labours, doubtlesse many thousands would be advised by good discipline, to take more pleasure in honest industrie, then in their humours of dissolute idlenesse.

But, to returne a little more to the particulars of this Countrey, which I intermingle thus with my proiects and reasons, not being so sufficiently yet acquainted in those parts, to write fully the estate of the Sea, the Ayre, the Land, the Fruites, the Rocks, the People, the Government, Religion, Territories, and Limitations, Friends, and Foes: but, as I gathered from the niggardly relations in a broken language to my understanding, during the time I ranged those countries &c. The most Northern part I was at, was the Bay of *Pennobscot*, which is East and West, North and South, more then ten leagues: but such were my occasions, I was constrained to be satisfied of them I found in the Bay, that the River ranne farre up into the Land, and was well inhabited with many people, but they were from their habitations, either fishing among the Iles, or hunting the Lakes and Woods, for Deer and Bevers. The Bay is full of great Ilands, of one, two, six, eight, or ten miles in length, which divides it into many faire and excellent good harbours. On the East of it, are the *Tarrantines*, their mortall enemies, where inhabit the *French*, as they report that live with those people, as one nation or family. And Northwest of *Pennobscot* is *Mecaddacut*, at the foot of a high mountaine, a kinde of fortresse against the *Tarrantines*, adioyning to the high mountaines of *Pennobscot*, against whose feet doth beat the Sea: But over all the Land, Iles, or other impediments, you may well see them sixteene or eighteene leagues from their situation. *Segocket* is the next; then *Nusconcus*, *Pemmaquid*, and *Sagadahock*. Up this river where was the westerne plantation are *Aumuckcawgen*, *Kinnebeck*, and divers others, where there is planted some corne fields. Along this River 40 or 50 miles, I saw nothing but great high cliffes of barren Rocks, overgrowne with wood: but where the Salvages dwelt there the ground is exceeding fat and fertill. Westward of this River, is the Countrey of *Aucocisco*, in the bottome of a large deepe Bay, full of many great Iles, which divides it into many good harbours. *Sowocotuck* is the next, in the edge of a large sandy Bay, which hath many Rocks and Iles, but few good harbours, but for Barks, I yet know. But all this Coast to *Pennobscot*, and as farre I could see Eastward of it is nothing but such high craggy Cliffy Rocks and stony Iles, that I wondered such great trees could growe upon so hard foundations. It is a Countrie rather to affright, then delight one. And how to describe a more plaine spectacle of desolation or more barren I knowe not. Yet the Sea there is the strangest fish-pond I ever saw; and those barren Iles so furnished with good woods, springs, fruits, fish, and fowle, that it makes mee thinke though the Coast be rockie, and thus affrightable; the Vallies, Plaines, and interior parts, may well (notwithstanding) be verie fertile. But there is no kingdom so fertile hath not some part barren: and *New England* is great enough, to make many Kingdomes and Countries, were it all inhabited. As you passe the Coast still Westward, *Accominticus* and *Passataquack* are two convenient harbors for small barks; and a good Countrie, within their craggie cliffs. *Angoam* is the next; This place might content a right curious iudgement: but there are many sands at the entrance of the harbor: and the worst is, it is inbayed too farre from the deepe Sea. Heere are many rising hilles, and on their tops and descents many corne fields, and delightfull groves. On the East, is an Ile of two or three leagues in length; the one halfe, plaine morish grasse fit for pasture, with many faire high groves of mulberrie trees gardens: and there is also Okes, Pines, and other woods to make this place an excellent habitation, beeing a good and safe harbor.

Naimkeck though it be more rockie ground (for *Angoam* is sandie) not much inferior; neither for the harbor, nor any thing I could perceive, but the multitude of people. From hence doth stretch into the Sea the faire headland *Tragabigzanda*, fronted with three Iles called the three *Turks heads:* to the North of this. doth enter a great Bay, where wee founde some habitations and corne fields: they report a great River, and at least thirtie habitations, doo possesse this Countrie. But because the *French* had got their trade, I had no leasure to discover it. The Iles of *Mattahunts* are on the West side of this Bay, where are many Iles, and questionlesse good harbors: and then the Countrie of the *Massachusets*, which is the Paradise of all those parts: for, heere are many Iles all planted with corne; groves, mulberries, salvage gardens, and good harbors: the Coast is for the most part, high clayie sandie cliffs. The Sea Coast as you passe, shewes you all along large corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people: but the *French* having remained heere neere sixe weekes, left nothing for us to take occasion to examine the inhabitants relations, *viz.* if there be neer three thousand people upon these Iles; and that the River doth pearce many daies iourneis the intralles of that Countrey. We found the people in those parts verie kinde; but in their furie no lesse valiant. For, upon a quarrell wee had with one of them, hee onely with three others crossed the harbor of *Quonahassit* to certaine rocks whereby wee must passe; and there let flie their arrowes for our shot, till we were out of danger.

Then come you to *Accomack*, an excellent good harbor, good land; and no want of any thing, but industrious people. After much kindnesse, upon a small occasion, wee fought also with fortie or fiftie of those: though some were hurt, and some slaine; yet within an houre after they became friendes. *Cape Cod* is the next presents it selfe: which is onely a headland of high hils of sand, overgrowne with shrubbie pines, hurts, and such trash; but an excellent harbor for all weathers. This

Cape is made by the maine Sea on the one side, and a great Bay on the other in forme of a sickle: on it doth inhabit the people of *Pawmet:* and in the bottome of the Bay, the people of *Chawum*. Towards the South and South west of this *Cape*, is found a long and dangerous shoale of sands and rocks. But so farre as I incircled it, I found thirtie fadom water aboard the shore and a strong current: which makes mee think there is a Channell about this shoale; where is the best and greatest fish to be had, Winter and Summer, in all that Countrie. But, the Salvages say there is no Channell, but that the shoales beginne from the maine at *Pawmet*, to the Ile of *Nausit;* and so extends beyond their knowledge into the Sea. The next to this is *Capawack*, and those abounding Countries of copper, corne, people, and mineralls; which I went to discover this last yeare: but because I miscarried by the way, I will leave them, till God please I have better acquaintance with them.

The *Massachusets*, they report, sometimes have warres with the *Bashabes* of *Pennobscot;* and are not alwaies friends with them of *Chawum* and their alliants: but now they are all friends, and have each trade with other, so farre as they have societie, on each others frontiers. For they make no such voiages as from *Pennobscot* to *Cape Cod;* seldom to *Massachewset.* In the North (as I have said) they begunne to plant corne, whereof the South part hath such plentie, as they have what they will from them of the North; and in the Winter much more plenty of fish and foule: but both Winter and Summer hath it in the one part or other all the yeare; being the meane and most indifferent temper, betwixt heat and colde, of all the regions betwixt the Lyne and the Pole: but the furs Northward are much better, and in much more plentie, then Southward.

The remarkablest Iles and mountains for Landmarkes are these; The highest Ile or *Sorico*, in the Bay of *Pennobscot:* but the three Iles and a rock of *Matinnack* are much furder in the Sea; *Metinicus* is also three plaine Iles and a rock, betwixt it and *Monahigan: Monahigan* is a rounde high Ile; and close by it *Monanis*, betwixt which is a small harbor where we ride. In *Damerils* Iles is such another: *Sagadahock* is knowne by *Satquin*, and foure or five Iles in the mouth. *Smyths* Iles are a heape together, none neere them, against *Accominticus*. The three Turks heads are three Iles seen far to Sea-ward in regard of the headland.

The cheefe headlands are onely *Cape Tragabigzanda* and *Cape Cod.*

The cheefe mountaines, them of *Pennobscot:* and twinkling mountaine of *Aucocisco;* the greate mountaine of *Sasanou;* and the high mountaine of *Massachusit:* each of which you shall finde in the Mappe; their places, formes, and altitude. The waters are most pure, proceeding from the intrals of rockie mountaines; the hearbes and fruits are of many sorts and kindes: as alkermes, currans, or a fruit like currans, mulberries, vines, respices, goosberries, plummes, walnuts, chesnuts, small nuts, &c. pumpions, gourds, strawberries, beans, pease, and mayze: a kinde or two of flax, where with they make nets, lines and ropes both small and great, verie strong for their quantities.

Oke, is the chiefe wood; of which there is great difference in regard of the soyle where it groweth, firre, pyne, walnut, chestnut, birch, ash, elme, cypresse, ceder, mulberrie, plumtree, hazell, saxefrage, and many other sorts.

Eagles, Gripes, diverse sorts of Haukes, Cranes, Geese, Brants, Cormorants, Ducks, Sheldrakes, Teale, Meawes, Guls, Turkies, Dive-doppers, and many other sorts, whose names I knowe not.

Whales, Grampus, Porkpisces, Turbot, Sturgion, Cod, Hake, Haddock, Cole, Cusk, or small Ling, Shark, Mackerrell, Herring, Mullet, Base, Pinacks, Cunners, Pearch, Eels, Crabs, Lobsters, Muskles, Wilkes, Oysters, and diverse others &c.

Moos, a beast bigger than a Stagge; Deere, red, and Fallow; Bevers, Wolves, Foxes, both blacke and other; Aroughconds, Wild-cats, Beares, Otters, Martins, Fitches, Musquassus, and diverse sorts of vermine, whose names I know not. All these and divers other good things do heere, for want of use, still increase, and decrease with little diminution, whereby they growe to that abundance. You shall scarce finde any Baye, shallow shore or Cove of sand, where you may not take many Clampes, or Lobsters, or both at your pleasure, and in many places lode your boat if you please; Nor Iles where you finde not fruits, birds, crabs, and muskles, or all of them, for taking, at a lowe water. And in the harbors we frequented, a little boye might take of Cunners, and Pinacks, and such delicate fish, at the ships sterne, more than sixe or tenne can eate in a daie; but with a casting net, thousands when wee pleased: and scarce any place, but Cod, Cuske, Holybut, Mackerell, Scate, or such like, a man may take with a hooke or line what he will. And, in diverse sandy Baies, a man may draw with a net great store of Mullets, Bases, and diverse other sorts of such excellent fish, as many as his Net can drawe on shore: no River where there is not plentie of Sturgion, or Salmon, or both; all which are to be had in abundance observing but their seasons. But if a man will goe at Christmasse to gather Cherries in *Kent*, he may be deceived; though there be plentie in Summer: so, heere these plenties have each their seasons, as I have expressed. We for the most part had little but bread and vinegar: and though the most part of Iuly when the fishing decaied they wrought all day, laie abroade in the Iles all night, and lived on what they found, yet were not sicke: But I would wish none put himself long to such plunges; except necessitie constraine it: yet worthy is that person to starve that heere cannot live; if he have sense, strength and health: for there is no such penury of these blessings in any place, but that a hundred men may, in one houre or two, make their provisions for a day: and hee that hath experience to manage well these affaires, with fortie or thirtie honest industrious men, might well undertake (if they dwell in these parts) to subiect the Salvages, and feed daily two or three hundred men, with as good corne, fish and flesh, as the earth hath of those kindes, and yet make that labor but their pleasure: provided that they have engins, that be proper for their purposes.

Who can desire more content, that hath small meanes; or but only his merit to advance his fortune, then to tread, and plant that ground hee hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he have but the taste of virtue, and magnanimitie, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant, then planting and building a foundation for his Posteritie, gotte from the rude earth, by Gods blessing and his owne industrie, without prejudice to any? If hee have any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can hee doe lesse hurtfull to any; or more agreeable to God, then to seeke to convert those poore Salvages to know Christ, and humanitie, whose labors with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paines? What so truely sutes with honour and honestie, as the discovering things unknowne? erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things unjust, teaching virtue; and gaine to our Native mother-countrie a kingdom to attend her; finde imploy-ment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: so farre from wronging any, as to cause Posteritie to remember thee; and remembering thee, ever honour that remembrance with praise?

Captain John Smith's "Description of New England" is the first book in which the country previously called North Virginia is styled New England. It was published in London in 1616, the full title being "A Description of New England: or The Observations, and Discoveries of Captain John Smith (admirall of that Country) in the North of *America*, in the year *of our Lord* 1614: with the successe of sixe ships, that went the next yeare 1615; and the accidents befell him among the *French men of warre:* with the proofe of the present benefit this countrey affoords: whither this present yeare, 1616, *eight voluntary Ships are gone to make further* tryall." Smith's map of New England was first published in this tract. It was subsequently reissued in other works of Smith, additions being made on the engraved copper plate from time to time to indicate the more recent discoveries and settlements. Many of the names which our towns and cities now bear are given on the map to prominent places on the coast, but *Plymouth* and *Cape Anna* are the only places which have retained the names thus given. *Boston* appears near the present York, Me., and *London* and *Oxford* where Cohasset and Scituate, Mass., now are.

Smith left Virginia, where he had spent about two years and a half, in the autumn of 1609. On March 3, 1614, he left the Downs, with two vessels, fitted out by four London merchants and himself, for New England, where he arrived the last of April, as appears in his account here given. He was absent on this voyage about six months. He made two unsuccessful attempts to reach these shores the next year. In consideration of his labors and interest in New England colonization the Plymouth Company conferred upon him the title of *Admiral of New England.* Various obstacles prevented him from ever again visiting New England, but he distributed thousands of his books and maps to promote emigration.

About one-half of Smith's work is here printed, the part devoted to the description of New England. The rest is mainly a plea for colonization. There are various editions of Smith's "Description of New England," which can be consulted by the student: that here used is the Boston edition of 1865, with an introduction by Charles Deane. Smith's complete works have been published in a single volume, carefully edited by Edward Arber.

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England's Title to North America.

By RICHARD HAKLUYT

FROM HAKLUYT'S "DISCOURSE CONCERNING WESTERNE PLANTING." CHAPTER XVIII.

That the Queene of Englandes title to all the West Indies, or at the leaste to as moche as is from Florida to the Circle articke, is more lawfull and righte then the Spaniardes, or any other Christian Princes.

To confute the generall claime and unlawfull title of the insatiable Spaniardes to all the West Indies, and to prove the justenes of her Majesties title and of her noble progenitours, if not to all, yet at leaste to that parte of America which is from Florida beyonde the Circle articke, wee are to sett downe in true order, accordinge to the juste observation of tyme, when the West Indyes, with the ilandes and continent of the same, were firste discoured and inhabited, and by what nation, and by whome. Then are wee to answer in generall and particulerly to the moste injurious and unreasonable donation graunted by Pope Alexander the Sixte, a Spaniarde borne, of all the West Indies to the Kinges of Spaine and their successors, to the greate prejudice of all other Christian Princes, but especially to the domage of the Kinges of England.

Ffor the firste pointe, wee of England have to shewe very auncient and auctenticall chronicles, written in the Welshe or Brittishe tongue, wherein wee finde that one Madock ap Owen Guyneth, a Prince of North Wales, beinge wearye of the civill warres and domesticall dissentions in his contrie, made twoo voyadges oute of Wales, and discovered and planted large contries which he founde in the mayne ocean south westwarde of Ireland, in the yere of our Lorde 1170. This historie is also to be seene in Englishe in printe, in the booke sett furthe this yere of the Princes of Wales, dedicated to Sir Henry Sidney. And this is confirmed by the language of some of those people that dwell upon the continent betwene the Bay of Mexico and the Grande Bay of Newfoundelande, whose language is said to agree with the Welshe in divers wordes and names of places, by experience of some of our nation that have bene in those partes. By this testimonie it appereth, that the West Indies were discovered and inhabited 322. yeres before Columbus made his firste voyadge, which was in the yere 1492.

Secondly, the acceptation of Columbus his offer of the West Indies by Kinge Henry the Seaventh, at the very firste, maketh moche for the title of the Kinges of England, althoughe they had no former interest; which I will here putt downe as I finde it in the eleventh chapiter of the historie of Ferdinandus Columbus of the relation of the life and doinges of his father:* This practise, saieth he, of the Kinge of Portingale (which was secretly to deprive him of the honour of his enterprise), beinge come to the knowledge of the Admyrall, and havinge lately buried his wife, he conceaved so greate hatred againste the citie of Lysbone and the nation, that he determyned to goe into Castile with a younge sonne that he had by his wife, called Diego Colon, which after his fathers deathe succeded in his state. But fearinge, yf the Kinges of Castile also shoulde not consente unto his enterprise, he shoulde be constrayned to begynne againe to make some newe offer of the same to some other Prince, and so longe tyme shoulde be spente therein, he sente into England a brother of his which he had with him, named Bartholmewe Columbus. Nowe Bartholmewe Columbus beinge departed for England, his fortune was to fall into the handes of pyrates, which robbed him, and his other companions that were in his shippe, of all that they had. By which occasion and meanes of his povertie and sicknes, which cruelly afflicted him in a strange contrie, he deferred for a longe space his embassage, till, havinge gotten upp a little money by makinge of seacardes, he began to practize with Kinge Henry the Seaventhe, the father of Kinge Henry the viij^th^ which nowe reigneth; to whome he presented a general carde, wherein these verses were written, which I will rather here put downe for their antiquitie theñ for their elegancie:

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* To the middle of the next page Hakluyt is quoting from Ferdinand Columbus.

Terrarum quicunque cupis fœliciter oras
Noscere, cuncta decens doctè pictura docebit
Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolomæus, Plinius atque
Isidorus: non vna tamen sententia cuique.
Pingitur hîc etiam nuper sulcata carinis
Hispanis Zona illa, priùs incognita genti,
Torrida, q̀uæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.

And somewhat more beneath he saied:

Pro authore sive pictore.

Janua cui patriæ est nomen, cui Bartholomæus
Columbus, de terra rubra, opus edidit istud
Londonijs, Anno Domini 1480 atque insuper anno
Octauo, decimáque die cùm tertia mensis
Februarij. Laudes Christo cantentur abundè.

But to returne to the Kinge of England; I say that after he had sene the generall carde, and that which the Admyrall Columbus offred unto him, he accepted his offer with a cherefull countenaunce, and sente to call him into England. These thinges beinge so, wee nede not to be our owne judges, but are able to prove, as you see, by a forren testimonie of singuler greate aucthoritie, that Christopher Columbus, beinge in Portingale, before he wente into Castile, sente his brother Bartholmewe into England to practise with Kinge Henry the Seaventh aboute the discoverie of the West Indies, and that his said brother made his generall seacarde of this secrete voyadge in London, in the yere of our Lorde 1488. the xiijth of February, above foure yeres before Christopher was sett oute upon his firste voyadge by the Princes of Spaine, Ferdinando and Isabella, which was the thirde of Auguste, 1492. It appereth also, that the onely cause of his slowe dispatche was his fallinge into the handes of pyrates, which spoiled him and his companie of all that they had; whereby he was inforced a longe tyme to worke in London in makinge instrumentes and seacardes to get somewhat aboute him, that he mighte come in some honest furniture to the Kinges presence. Also, that there was no delaye nor wante of goodd will of the Kinges parte to sett furthe the action, whoe willingly condescended to all Columbus demaundes; as is further to be seene in the 60 chapiter of the same historie, where I reade, that Bortholmewe Columbus, havinge agreed with the Kinge of England upon all capitulations, and returninge into Spaine by France to fetche his brother, when he hearde newes at Paris that he had concluded in the meane season with the Kinge of Spaine, and was entred into the action for him, was not a little vexed for his brothers abusinge the Kinge of England, which had so curteously graunted all his requestes and accepted of his offer. But Christofer, not receavinge so spedy aunswer as he hoped for from his brother oute of England, by reason of his fallinge into pirates handes, as is aforesaide, and not by reason of any slacknes or unwillingnes of the Kinge, in the meane season, for feare of beinge prevented by the Portingales, which once before in secrete manner had gon aboute to take the honour of the action oute of his handes, was stirred, contrary to honesty, to playe on bothe handes, and to deale with the Princes of Spaine before he had receaved the Kinge of Englandes resolucion.

But leavinge this abuse offered to the Kinge of England either by Christopher Columbus or the Kinges of Spaine, in takinge that enterprise oute of his handes which was firste sente to him, and never refused by him, and to put the case that Columbus firste discovered part of the ilandes of Hispaniola and Cuba, yet wee will prove moste plainely, that a very greate and large parte, as well of the continent as of the ilandes, was firste discovered for the Kinge of England by Sebastian Gabote, an Englishe man, borne in Bristoll, the sonne of John Gabote, a Venesian, in the yere of our Lorde 1496; as an Italian gent, a greate philosopher and mathematitian, witnesseth, which harde the same of his owne mouthe; and there were many then also lyvinge, which wente with him in that voyadge, which coulde have proved him a liar yf it had bene otherwise. These be the very wordes of this gent, which he uttered to certen noblemen of Venice upon the disputation concerninge the voyadges of the spicerye:* Knowe ye not (quoth he) to this effecte, to goe to finde the Easte Indies by the north west, that which one of your citie hath done, which is so skilfull in the arte of navigacion and cosmographie, that he hath not his like in Spaine at this day? And his sufficiencie hath so greately advaunced him, that the Kinge hath given him the oversighte of all the pilotts that saile to the West Indies, so that withoute his licence they cannot meddle in this arte, by reason whereof they call him the Graund Pilott. This was Segnior Sebastian Gabote, which I went to see, beinge myselfe in Cyvill certen yeres paste, whome I founde to be a moste curteous and gentle person. After he had made very moche of me, and geven me goodd entertainment, he shewed me many singularities which he had; and amonge the rest, a greate mappe of the worlde, wherein were marked and described all the particuler navigations as well of the Portingales as of the Castilians. And he declared unto me, that, his father beinge departed from Venyce, he wente to dwell in England for trade of marchandize, and caried him with him to the citie of London, thoughe he were very younge; yet for all that not so younge but that he had studied [letters] of humanitie and the sphere; moreover, that his father died aboute the tyme that the newes came that Christopher Colon had discovered the coaste of the West Indies, and there was no other talke but of that in the Courte of Kinge Henry the vijth which reigned then in England. Whereof every man saied, that yt was rather a thinge devine then humaine, to have founde out that way never knowen before, to goe by the west into the easte. This brute of Segnior Columbus did so inflame my harte, that I determyned also to doe some notable thinge. And knowinge by the reason of the sphere, that, in directinge my course righte towarde the north weste, I should shorten the way greately to goe to the Easte Indies, without delaye I gave the Kinges Majestie to understande of myne opinion, which was marveylously well pleased; and he furnished me of twoo shippes, with all thinges necessarie; and this was in the yere 1496. in the begynnynge of somer. And I began to saile towardes the north west, thinckinge to finde no lande savinge that where Cathaio is, and from thence to turne towardes the Indies. But after certaine daies, I discoured lande which ronneth towardes the northe, wherewithall I was excedingly agreved; notwithstandinge I ceassed not to ronne alonge that coaste towardes the northe, to see yf I coulde finde any gulfe which turned towardes the north weste, until I came to the heighte of 56. degrees of our pole. Beinge there, I sawe that the coaste turned towarde the easte, and beinge oute of hope to finde any straite, I turned backe againe to searche out the said coaste towarde the equinoctiall, with intention alwayes to finde some passage to the Indies; and in followinge this coaste I sailed as farr as that parte which at this present they call Florida; and nowe my victualls failinge and fallinge shorte, I sailed no further, but lefte the coaste there and sailed into England, where I was no sooner arryved but I founde greate troubles of the people, that were upp in armes by reason of the warres in Scotland; whereby the voyadge to those partes was laide aside for that time, and had in no further consideration.

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* The quotation continues to the bottom of the next page.

Upon this relation, Monsieur Popiliniere, beinge a Frencheman, in his seconde booke, Des Trois Mondes, inferreth these speaches: This, then, was that Gabote which firste discovered Florida for the Kinge of England, so that the Englishe men have more righte thereunto then the Spaniardes, yf, to have righte unto a contrie, it sufficeth to have firste seene and discovered the same.

Howbeit, Gabota did more then see the contrie, for he wente on lande on divers places, tooke possession of the same accordinge to his patente, which was graunted to his father, John Gabot, to Lewes, himself, and Sancius, his brethren, beinge to be sene in the Rolles and extant in printe; and, moreover, he broughte home three of the savages of the Indies, as Fabian, in his ancient Chronicle, dothe write, declaringe their apparell, feedinge, and other manners, which, he saieth, he observed himselfe in the Courte at Westminster, where he sawe twoo of them, twoo yeres after they were broughte into England, in Englishe apparell. Nay, that which is more, Gabota discovered this longe tracte of the firme lande twoo yeres before Columbus ever sawe any parte of the continente thereof. For the firste parte of the firme lande, called Paria, and Bocca di Dragone, that is to say, the Dragons Mouthe, beinge to the southe of the iland of Hispaniola, was discovered by him in his thirde voyadge; which, as Peter Martir de Angleria, which was one of the councell of the West Indies, wryteth, was in the yere 1498; which is confirmed by Ferdinandus Columbus, his owne sonne, which was with his father in the voyadge (as Oviedo confesseth, libr. 19. cap. 1.), and wrote a journall of that voyadge, shewinge, in the 67. chapiter of his historie, that his father firste sawe the firme lande the firste of Auguste in the yere 1498. But Gabote made his greate discoverie in the yere 1496. as he testifieth in his relation above mentioned. And the day of the moneth is also added in his owne mappe, which is yn the Queenes privie gallorie at Westminster, the copye whereof was sett oute by Mr. Clemente Adams, and is in many marchantes houses in London. In which mappe, in the chapiter of Newfoundelande, there in Latyn is put downe, besides the yere of our Lorde, even the very day, which was the day of St. John Baptiste; and the firste lande which they sawe they called Prima Visa or Prima Vista; and Mr. Roberte Thorne, in his discourse to Doctor Ley, Kinge Henry the Eights embassador to Charles the Emperour, affirmeth that his father and one Hughe Elliott, of Bristoll, were the firste persons that descried the lande. This case is so clere that the Spaniardes themselves, thoughe full sore againste their willes, are constrained to yielde unto us therein. For Franciscus Lopez de Gomera, in the 4. chapiter of his seconde booke of his Generall Historie of the Indies, confesseth that Sebastian was the firste discoverer of all the coaste of the West Indies, from 58. degrees of northerly latitude to the heighte of 38. degrees towardes the equinoctiall. He whiche broughte moste certeine newes of the contrie and people of Baccalaos, saieth Gomera, was Sebastian Gabot, a Venesian, which rigged up ij. shippes at the coste of Kinge Henry the Seaventh of England, havinge greate desire to traficque for the spices as the Portingales did. He carried with him CCC. men, and tooke the way towardes Island from beyonde the Cape of Labrador, untill he founde himselfe in 58. degrees and better. He made relation that, in the moneth of July, it was so colde and the ise so greate, that he durste not passe any further; that the daies were very longe, in a manner withoute any nighte, and for that shorte nighte that they had it was very clere. Gabot, feelinge the colde, turned towardes the west, refreshinge himselfe at Baccalaos; and afterwardes he sailed alonge the coaste unto 38 degrees, and from thence he shaped his course to returne into England.

Moreover, this Fraunces Lopez de Gomera acknowledgeth, in his firste booke and xxjth chapiter of his Generall Historie of the Indies, that Columbus, on his thirde voyadge, sett oute from St. Lucar of Barameda, in Spaine, in the ende of May, *anno* 1497. In which thirde voyadge, at lengthe, after many greate dangers by the way, he arryved in the firme lande of the Indies, towardes the province called Paria, which all the Spanishe authors confesse to have bene the firste of the continent that was discovered for the Kinges of Spaine.

So to conclude; whether wee beleve the testimonie of Peter Martir and Ferdinandus Columbus, which affirme that Christopher Columbus discovered the firme firste *in anno* 1498. a greate and large tracte of the continente of the Indies was discovered by Gabot and the Englishe above twoo yeres before, to witt, in the yere 1496, in the moneths of June and July; or whether wee be contente to yelde to Gomera, which saieth Columbus sett furthe of the discovery of the firme lande, 1497; yet wee of England are the firste discoverers of the continent above a yere and more before them, to witt, 1496. or, as

Clement Adams saieth, 1494. in the chapiter of Gabotts mapp *De terra nova*, which is above three yeres before the Spaniarde, or any other for the Kinges of Spaine, had any sighte of any parte of the firme lande of the Indies. At leaste wise, by Gomera his owne confession, from 58. degrees of northerly latitude to 38. towardes the equinoctiall, we have beste righte and title of any Christian. As for the discovery of John Ponce of Leon, beinge *in anno* 1512. yt cannot be prejudiciall to our title, as beinge made sixtene yeres after Gabotes voyadge.

A brefe collection of certaine reasons to induce her Majestie and the state to take in hande the westerne voyadge and the plantinge there.— Chapter XX. of Hakluyt's Discourse.

1. The soyle yeldeth, and may be made to yelde, all the severall comodities of Europe, and of all kingdomes, domynions, and territories that England tradeth withe, that by trade of marchandize cometh into this realme.

2. The passage thither and home is neither to longe nor to shorte, but easie, and to be made twise in the yere.

3. The passage cutteth not nere the trade of any prince, nor nere any of their contries or territories, and is a safe passage, and not easie to be annoyed by prince or potentate whatsoever.

4. The passage is to be perfourmed at all times of the yere, and in that respecte passeth our trades in the Levant Seas within the Straites of Juberalter, and the trades in the seas within the Kinge of Denmarkes Straite, and the trades to the portes of Norwey and of Russia, &c.; for as in the south weste Straite there is no passage in somer by lacke of windes, so within the other places there is no passage in winter by yse and extreme colde.

5. And where England nowe for certen hundreth yeres last passed, by the peculiar comoditie of wolles, and of later yeres by clothinge of the same, hath raised it selfe from meaner state to greater wealthe and moche higher honour, mighte, and power then before, to the equallinge of the princes of the same to the greatest potentates of this parte of the worlde; it cometh nowe so to passe, that by the greate endevour of the increase of the trade of wolles in Spaine and in the West Indies, nowe daily more and more multiplienge, that the wolles of England, and the clothe made of the same, will become base, and every day more

base then other; which, prudently weyed, yt behoveth this realme, yf it meane not to returne to former olde meanes and basenes, but to stande in present and late former honour, glorye, and force, and not negligently and sleepingly to slyde into beggery, to foresee and to plante at Norumbega or some like place, were it not for any thing els but for the hope of the vent of our woll indraped, the principall and in effecte the onely enrichinge contynueinge naturall comoditie of this realme. And effectually pursueinge that course, wee shall not onely finde on that tracte of lande, and especially in that firme northwarde (to whome warme clothe shalbe righte wellcome), an ample vente, but also shall, from the north side of that firme, finde oute knowen and unknowen ilandes and domynions replenishd with people that may fully vent the aboundaunce of that our comoditie, that els will in fewe yeres waxe of none or of small value by forreine aboundaunce, &c.; so as by this enterprice wee shall shonne the ymmynent mischefe hanginge over our heades, that els muste nedes fall upon the realme, without breache of peace or sworde drawen againste this realme by any forreine state; and not offer our auncient riches to scornefull neighboures at home, nor sell the same in effecte for nothinge, as wee shall shortly, if presently it be not provaided for. The increase of the wolles of Spaine and America is of highe pollicie, with greate desire of our overthrowe, endevoured; and the goodnes of the forren wolles our people will not enter into the consideration of, nor will not beleve aughte, they be so sotted with opinion of their owne; and, yf it be not foresene and some such place of vent provided, farewell the goodd state of all degrees in this realme.

6. This enterprise may staye the Spanishe Kinge from flowinge over all the face of that waste firme of America, yf wee seate and plante there in time, in tyme I say, and wee by plantinge shall lett him from makinge more shorte and more safe returnes oute of the noble portes of the purposed places of our plantinge, then by any possibilitie he can from the parte of the firme that nowe his navies by ordinary courses come from, in this that there is no comparison betwene the portes of the coastes that the Kinge of Spaine dothe nowe possesse and use, and the portes of the coastes that our nation is to possesse by plantinge at Norumbega, and on that tracte faste by, more to the northe and northeaste, and in that there is from thence a moche shorter course, and a course of more temperature, and a course that

possesseth more contynuaunce of ordinary windes, then the present course of the Spanishe Indian navies nowe dothe. And England possessinge the purposed place of plantinge, her Majestie may, by the benefete of the seate, havinge wonne goodd and royall havens, have plentie of excellent trees for mastes, of goodly timber to builde shippes and to make greate navies, of pitche, tarr, hempe, and all thinges incident for a navie royall, and that for no price, and withoute money or request. Howe easie a matter may yt be to this realme, swarminge at this day with valiant youthes, rustinge and hurtfull by lacke of employment, and havinge goodd makers of cable and of all sortes of cordage, and the best and moste connynge shipwrights of the worlde, to be lordes of all those sees, and to spoile Phillipps Indian navye, and to deprive him of yerely passage of his treasure into Europe, and consequently to abate the pride of Spaine and of the supporter of the greate Antechriste of Rome, and to pull him downe in equallitie to his neighbour princes, and consequently to cutt of the common mischefes that come to all Europe by the peculiar aboundaunce of his Indian treasure, and thiss withoute difficultie.

7. This voyadge, albeit it may be accomplished by barke or smallest pynnesse for advise or for a necessitie, yet for the distaunce, for burden and gaine in trade, the marchant will not for profitts sake use it but by shippes of greate burden; so as this realme shall have by that meane shippes of greate burden and of greate strengthe for the defence of this realme, and for the defence of that newe seate, as nede shall require, and withall greate increase of perfecte seamen, which greate princes in time of warres wante, and which kinde of men are neither nourished in fewe daies nor in fewe yeres.

8. This newe navie of mightie newe stronge shippes, so in trade to that Norumbega and to the coastes there, shall never be subjecte to arreste of any prince or potentate, as the navie of this realme from time to time hath bene in the portes of thempire, in the portes of the Base Contries, in Spaine, Fraunce, Portingale, &c., in the tymes of Charles the Emperour, Fraunces the Frenche kinge, and others; but shall be alwayes free from that bitter mischeefe, withoute grefe or hazarde to the marchaunte or to the state, and so alwaies readie at the comaundement of the prince with mariners, artillory, armor, and munition, ready to offende and defende as shalbe required.

9. The greate masse of wealthe of the realme imbarqued in

the marchantes shippes, caried oute in this newe course, shall not lightly, in so farr distant a course from the coaste of Europe, be driven by windes and tempestes into portes of any forren princes, as the Spanishe shippes of late yeres have bene into our portes of the Weste Contries, &c.; and so our marchantes in respecte of private state, and of the realme in respecte of a generall safetie from venture of losse, are by this voyadge oute of one greate mischefe.

10. No forren commoditie that comes into England comes withoute payment of custome once, twise, or thrise, before it come into the realme, and so all forren comodities become derer to the subjectes of this realme; and by this course to Norumbega forren princes customes are avoided; and the forren comodities cheapely purchased, they become cheape to the subjectes of England, to the common benefite of the people, and to the savinge of greate treasure in the realme; whereas nowe the realme becomethe poore by the purchasinge of forreine comodities in so greate a masse at so excessive prices.

11. At the firste traficque with the people of those partes, the subjectes of this realme for many yeres shall chaunge many cheape comodities of these partes for thinges of highe valor there not estemed; and this to the greate inrichinge of the realme, if common use faile not.

12. By the greate plentie of those regions the marchantes and their factors shall lye there cheape, buye and repaire their shippes cheape, and shall returne at pleasure withoute staye or restrainte of forreine prince; whereas upon staies and restraintes the marchaunte raiseth his chardge in sale over of his ware; and, buyenge his wares cheape, he may mainteine trade with smalle stocke, and withoute takinge upp money upon interest; and so he shalbe riche and not subjecte to many hazardes, but shalbe able to afforde the comodities for cheape prices to all subjectes of the realme.

13. By makinge of shippes and by preparinge of thinges for the same, by makinge of cables and cordage, by plantinge of vines and olive trees, and by makinge of wyne and oyle, by husbandrie, and by thousandes of thinges there to be done, infinite nombers of the Englishe nation may be set on worke, to the unburdenynge of the realme with many that nowe lyve chardgeable to the state at home.

14. If the sea coste serve for makinge of salte, and the inland for wine, oiles, oranges, lymons, figges, &c., and for makinge of

yron, all which with moche more is hoped, withoute sworde drawen, wee shall cutt the combe of the Frenche, of the Spanishe, of the Portingale, and of enemies, and of doubtfull frendes, to the abatinge of their wealthe and force, and to the greater savinge of the wealthe of the realme.

15. The substaunces servinge, wee may oute of those partes receave the masse of wrought wares that nowe wee receave out of Fraunce, Flaunders, Germanye, &c.; and so wee may daunte the pride of some enemies of this realme, or at the leaste in parte purchase those wares, that nowe wee buye derely of the Frenche and Flemynge, better cheape; and in the ende, for the parte that this realme was wonte to receave, dryve them oute of trade to idlenes for the settinge of our people on worke.

16. Wee shall by plantinge there inlarge the glory of the gospell, and from England plante sincere relligion, and provide a safe and a sure place to receave people from all partes of the worlde that are forced to flee for the truthe of Gods worde.

17. If frontier warres there chaunce to aryse, and if thereupon wee shall fortifie, yt will occasion the trayninge upp of our youthe in the discipline of warr, and make a nomber fitt for the service of the warres and for the defence of our people there and at home.

18. The Spaniardes governe in the Indies with all pride and tyranie; and like as when people of contrarie nature at the sea enter into gallies, where men are tied as slaves, all yell and crye with one voice, *Liberta*, *liberta*, as desirous of libertie and freedome, so no doubte whensoever the Queene of England, a prince of such clemencie, shall seate upon that firme of America, and shalbe reported throughe oute all that tracte to use the naturall people there with all humanitie, curtesie, and freedome, they will yelde themselves to her governement, and revolte cleane from the Spaniarde, and specially when they shall understande that she hathe a noble navie, and that she aboundeth with a people moste valiaunte for theyr defence. And her Majestie havinge Sir Fraunces Drake and other subjectes already in credite with the Symerons, a people or greate multitude alreadye revolted from the Spanishe governemente, she may with them and a fewe hundreths of this nation, trayned upp in the late warres of Fraunce and Flaunders, bringe greate thinges to passe, and that with greate ease; and this broughte so aboute, her Majestie and her subjectes may bothe enjoye the treasure of the mynes of golde and silver, and the whole

trade and all the gaine of the trade of marchandize, that nowe passeth thither by the Spaniardes onely hande, of all the comodities of Europe; which trade of marchandize onely were of it selfe suffycient (withoute the benefite of the riche myne) to inriche the subjectes, and by customes to fill her Majesties coffers to the full. And if it be highe pollicie to mayneteyne the poore people of this realme in worke, I dare affirme that if the poore people of England were five times so many as they be, yet all mighte be sett on worke in and by workinge lynnen, and suche other thinges of marchandize as the trade into the Indies dothe require.

19. The present shorte trades causeth the maryner to be cast of, and ofte to be idle, and so by povertie to fall to piracie. But this course to Norumbega beinge longer, and a contynuaunce of themploymente of the maryner, dothe kepe the maryner from ydlenes and from necessitie; and so it cutteth of the principal actions of piracie, and the rather because no riche praye for them to take cometh directly in their course or any thing nere their course.

20. Many men of excellent wittes and of divers singuler giftes, overthrowen by suertishippe, by sea, or by some folly of youthe, that are not able to live in England, may there be raised againe, and doe their contrie goodd service; and many nedefull uses there may (to greate purpose) require the savinge of greate nombers, that for trifles may otherwise be devoured by the gallowes.

21. Many souldiers and servitours, in the ende of the warres, that mighte be hurtfull to this realme, may there be unladen, to the common profite and quiet of this realme, and to our forreine benefite there, as they may be employed.

22. The frye of the wandringe beggars of England, that growe upp ydly, and hurtefull and burdenous to this realme, may there be unladen, better bredd upp, and may people waste contries to the home and forreine benefite, and to their owne more happy state.

23. If Englande crie oute and affirme, that there is so many in all trades that one cannot live for another, as in all places they doe, this Norumbega (if it be thoughte so goodd) offreth the remedie.

Froude has called Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations" "the prose epic of the modern English nation." Robertson, in his history, speaks of Hakluyt as one "to whom England is more indebted for its American possession than to any other man of that age." "Excepting, of course, Shakespeare and the *Dii Majores*," said Sir Clements Markham, the president of the Hakluyt Society, in his address at the celebration in 1896, of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the society, "there is no man of the age of Elizabeth to whom posterity owes a deeper debt of gratitude than to Richard Hakluyt, the saviour of the records of our explorers and discoverers by land and sea."

Richard Hakluyt was of a Herefordshire family, and was born in 1553. That was five years before Elizabeth came to the throne. It was the same year that Edmund Spenser was born, one year after Raleigh was born, one year before the birth of Philip Sidney, and eleven years before the birth of Shakespeare. In the same year that Shakespeare was born, 1564, the young lad from Herefordshire entered Westminster School. If we remember that he died the same year that Shakespeare died, 1616, we have the chronology of his life. He was in Westminster School for about six years, and was a diligent scholar; but the impulse which determined his life-work was received at this time not from Westminster School, but from his cousin in the Middle Temple. His own story of this is given in the dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham, prefixed to the first edition of his "Principal Navigations."

"I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Majestie's scholars at Westminster, that fruitful nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt, my cosin, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen unto you, at a time when I found lying open upon his boord certeine bookes of cosmographie with an universall mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view thereof, began to instruct my ignorance by shewing me the division of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter and better distribution into more. He pointed with his wand to all the known seas, gulfs, bayes, straights, capes, rivers, empires, kingdoms, dukedoms, and territories of ech part; with declaration also of their special commodities and particular wants which by the benefit of traffike and intercourse of merchants are plentifully supplied. From the mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107th Psalme, directed mee to the 23rd and 24th verses, where I read that they which go downe to the sea in ships and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord and his woonders in the deepe, etc., which words of the Prophet, together with my cousins discourse (things of rare and high delight to my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved if ever I were preferred to the university, where better time and more convenient place might be ministred for these studies, would, by God's assistance, prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me."

This incident gives the key-note of his life. He presently did go to the university, becoming in 1570 a student at Christ Church, Oxford; and he did his regular work there faithfully and in due course took his degree; but every spare moment he devoted to his favorite field. "I fell to my intended course, and by degrees read over whatever printed or written discoveries and voyages I found extant either in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, Portugall, French or English languages; and in my publick lectures was the first that produced and showed both the olde and imperfectly composed and the new lately reformed mappes, globes, spheares and other instruments of this art for demonstration in the common schooles, to the singular pleasure and generall contentment of my auditory."

In the period following his Oxford studies, Hakluyt is said to have held a professorship of divinity, but we are not told where. There is some evidence that proposals were made to him to accompany Sir Humphrey Gilbert in his voyage to Newfoundland in the year 1583, but no particulars are recorded. Certain it is that from 1583 to 1588 he was chaplain to the English Embassy at Paris. In this last year he was one of several gentlemen to whom Raleigh assigned the patent granted him in 1584 authorizing him "to discover and find out remote, heathen, and barbarous lands." About the same time he was appointed prebend in the cathedral of Bristol, and in 1590 rector of Wetheringsett in Suffolk. In 1605 he became a prebendary of Westminster. As archdeacon of Westminster he died in 1616 and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Through all these years he devoted himself unremittingly to the purpose formed as a boy in his visit to the Middle Temple. The two great needs of his country in this field became clear to him at Oxford. The first need was caused by the ignorance of English seamen concerning scientific geography. He constantly urged the attention of those in authority to the importance of establishing a permanent lectureship "as a means of breeding up skilful seamen and mariners in this realm." But his great work was in the collection and publication of records of English exploration. Richard Eden had made one such collection, the second edition of which appeared at about the time that Hakluyt went to Oxford. But, of all the English voyages undertaken for the century previous to that time, most had been utterly forgotten. Even of the voyages of John Cabot there was no account whatever. Hakluyt saw that this was a national calamity. He saw that maritime traffic and colonization were the means by which England was to improve the condition of her people and become a great naval power; and to promote these objects he spared no study or expense. He cultivated the acquaintance of all who could give him information, and sought the assistance of all who could reinforce his efforts.

His first book, entitled "Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America," was published in 1582, before he went to Paris, and while he was not yet thirty years old. It is dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, and emphasizes in a strong way the advantages of colonization and the glory that would come to England from the pursuit of such a policy. To us Americans this first book of the great geographer has a peculiar interest. Its direct and practical object was the promotion of the colonization of America; and to enlighten his countrymen he brought together from all available sources the various accounts showing the history of the discovery of the east coast of North America, giving the fullest particulars then known, and giving the first impetus to the English colonization of America. "Virtually," says Sir Clements Markham, "Raleigh and Hakluyt were the founders of those colonies which eventually formed the United States. Americans revere the name of Walter Raleigh; they should give an equal place to that of Richard Hakluyt."

During his five years' residence in Paris, Hakluyt worked assiduously at the object of his life, printing some French accounts of Florida, which he presently republished in London in English. This work was dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, encouraging him to prosecute the colonization of Virginia, by pointing out the advantages and probable resources of the district. It is fair to assume that this publication, preceding by so short a time the colonization of Virginia, had an important influence in promoting that enterprise. In Paris also Hakluyt devoted himself to the preparation of his great work, "The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation," which first appeared in a folio volume in 1589, immediately upon Hakluyt's return to England from Paris. The new edition, in three volumes, containing notices of more than two hundred voyages, appeared just as the century was closing. From unpublished materials which he left, Samuel Purchas by and by largely made up his "Pilgrimes." The "Principal Navigations" was republished in 1809; and a more convenient edition, edited by Goldsmid, in sixteen volumes, was published in 1889, the various records being rearranged according to subjects, the accounts relating to America, for instance, being brought together.

Hakluyt's last publication (in 1609) was a translation of Fernando De Soto's discoveries in Florida, which he printed under the following title: "Virginia richly valued by the description of the maine land of Florida her next neighbour." This work was evidently intended to encourage the young colony in Virginia and procure support for the undertaking. The preface to the second edition: published with a changed title in 1611, is addressed to the Virginia adventurers. Robertson expresses the opinion that "the most active and efficacious promoter of the colonization of Virginia was Richard Hakluyt."

Richard Hakluyt was not simply a historian and a collector: he was also an agitator and a prophet. Of all his works there is none so interesting to us Americans as his "Discourse on Western Planting," written in 1584, while he was still living in Paris. It was written, he tells us, "at the request and direction of the right worshipful Mr. Walter Raleigh, now Knight, before the coming home of his two barks,"—that is, the two barks under Amadas and Barlow, who landed on Roanoke. Raleigh's object in causing this discourse to be written and laid before the Queen was clearly to influence her imagination and enlist her more active and efficient support in his large and ambitious schemes for the colonization of America. It is an interesting thing that this remarkable discourse, by far the most cogent and comprehensive argument for "western planting" which was framed in that adventurous Elizabethan age, should have first been printed in America itself. It had been forgotten for well-nigh two centuries, when one of the manuscript copies was discovered, and it was printed in the Collections of the Maine Historical Society for 1877, with an introduction by Leonard Woods, late president of Bowdoin College, and notes by Charles Deane. Two of the twenty-one chapters of the Discourse are given in the present leaflet. The student must not accept Hakluyt's account of the Cabot voyages as critically correct. See Old South Leaflet No. 115.

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No. 123.

The Universal Empire.

PASSAGES FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF DANTE'S *De Monarchia.*

It very greatly concerns all men on whom a higher nature has impressed the love of truth, that, as they have been enriched by the labor of those before them, so they also should labor for those that are to come after them, to the end that posterity may receive from them an addition to its wealth. For he is far astray from his duty — let him not doubt it — who, having been trained in the lessons of public business, cares not himself to contribute aught to the public good. He is no "tree planted by the water-side, that bringeth forth his fruit in due season." He is rather the devouring whirlpool, ever engulfing, but restoring nothing. Pondering, therefore, often on these things, lest some day I should have to answer the charge of the talent buried in the earth, I desire not only to show the budding promise, but also to bear fruit for the general good, and to set forth truths by others unattempted. For what fruit can he be said to bear who should go about to demonstrate again some theorem of Euclid? or when Aristotle has shown us what happiness is, should show it to us once more? or when Cicero has been the apologist of old age, should a second time undertake its defence? Such squandering of labor would only engender weariness and not profit.

But seeing that among other truths, ill-understood yet profitable, the knowledge touching temporal monarchy is at once most profitable and most obscure, and that because it has no immediate reference to worldly gain it is left unexplored by all, therefore it is my purpose to draw it forth from its hiding-places, as well that I may spend my toil for the benefit of the world, as that I may be the first to win the prize of so great an achievement to my own glory. The work indeed is difficult, and I am attempting what is beyond my strength; but I trust not in my own powers, but in the light of that Bountiful Giver, "Who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not."

Now, therefore, we must see what is the end of the whole civil order of men; and when we have found this, then, as the Philosopher[1] says in his book to Nicomachus, the half of our labor will have been accomplished. And to render the question clearer, we must observe that as there is a certain end for which nature makes the thumb, and another, different from this, for which she makes the whole hand, and again another for which she makes the arm, and another different from all for which she makes the whole man; so there is one end for which she orders the individual man, and another for which she orders the family, and another end for the city, and another for the kingdom, and finally an ultimate one for which the Everlasting God, by His art which is nature, brings into being the whole human race. And this is what we seek as a first principle to guide our whole inquiry.

Let it then be understood that God and nature make nothing to be idle. Whatever comes into being, exists for some operation or working. For no created essence is an ultimate end in the Creator's purpose, so far as he is Creator, but rather the proper operation of that essence. Therefore it follows that the operation does not exist for the sake of the essence, but the essence for the sake of the operation.

There is therefore a certain proper operation of the whole body of human kind, for which this whole body of men in all its multitudes is ordered and constituted, but to which no one man, nor single family, nor single neighborhood, nor single city, nor particular kingdom can attain. What this is will be manifest, if we can find what is the final and characteristic capacity of humanity as a whole. I say then that no quality which is shared by different species of things is the distinguishing capacity of any one of them. For were it so, since this capacity is that which makes each species what it is, it would follow that one essence would be specifically distributed to many species, which is impossible. Therefore the ultimate quality of men is not existence, taken simply; for the elements share therein. Nor is it existence under certain conditions; for we find this in minerals too. Nor is it existence with life; plants too have life. Nor is it percipient existence; for brutes share in this power. It is to be percipient with the possibility of understanding. The distinguishing quality of humanity is the faculty or the power of understanding. And because this faculty cannot be realized in act in its entirety at one time by a single man, nor by any of the individual societies which we have marked, therefore there must be multitude in the human race, in order to realize it.

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[1] The common title for Aristotle from the first half of the thirteenth century.

The proper work of the human race, taken as a whole, is to set in action the whole capacity of that understanding which is capable of development; first in the way of speculation, and then, by its extension, in the way of action. And seeing that what is true of a part is true also of the whole, and that it is by rest and quiet that the individual man becomes perfect in wisdom and prudence; so the human race, by living in the calm and tranquillity of peace, applies itself most freely and easily to its proper work; a work which, according to the saying: "Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels," is almost divine. Whence it is manifest that of all things that are ordered to secure blessings to men, peace is the best. And hence the word which sounded to the shepherds from above was not riches, nor pleasure, nor honor, nor length of life, nor health, nor strength, nor beauty; but peace. For the heavenly host said: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will." Therefore also, "Peace be with you," was the salutation of the Saviour of mankind. For it behoved Him, who was the greatest of saviours, to utter in His greeting the greatest of saving blessings. And this custom His disciples too chose to preserve; and Paul also did the same in his greetings, as may appear manifest to all.

Now that we have declared these matters, it is plain what is the better, nay the best, way in which mankind may attain to do its proper work. And consequently we have seen the readiest means by which to arrive at the point, for which all our works are ordered, as their ultimate end; namely, the universal peace, which is to be assumed as the first principle for our deductions. As we said, this assumption was necessary, for it is as a sign-post to us, that into it we may resolve all that has to be proved, as into a most manifest truth.

The first question is whether Temporal Monarchy [or the Empire] is necessary for the welfare of the world; and that it is necessary can, I think, be shown by the strongest and most manifest arguments; for nothing, either of reason or of authority, opposes me. Let us first take the authority of the Philosopher in his Politics. There, on his venerable authority, it is said that where a number of things are arranged to attain an end, it behoves one of them to regulate or govern the others, and the others to submit. And it is not only the authority of his illustrious name which makes this worthy of belief, but also reason, instancing particulars.

If we take the case of a single man, we shall see the same rule manifested in him; all his powers are ordered to gain happiness; but his understanding is what regulates and governs all the others; and otherwise he would never attain to happiness. Again, take a single household: its end is to fit the members thereof to live well; but there must be one to regulate and rule it, who is called the father of the family, or, it may be, one who holds his office. As the Philosopher says: "Every house is ruled by the oldest." And, as Homer says, it is his duty to make rules and laws for the rest. Hence the proverbial curse: "Mayst thou have an equal home." Take a single village: its end is suitable assistance as regards persons and goods, but one in it must be the ruler of the rest, either set over them by another, or with their consent, the head man amongst them. If it be not so, not only do its inhabitants fail of this mutual assistance, but the whole neighborhood is sometimes wholly ruined by the ambition of many, who each of them wish to rule. If, again, we take a single city: its end is to secure a good and sufficient life to the citizens; but one man must be ruler in imperfect as well as in good forms of the state. If it is otherwise, not only is the end of civil life lost, but the city too ceases to be what it was. Lastly, if we take any one kingdom, of which the end is the same as that of a city, only with greater security for its tranquillity, there must be one king to rule and govern. For if this is not so, not only do his subjects miss their end, but the kingdom itself falls to destruction, according to that word of the infallible truth: "Every kingdom divided against itself shall be brought to desolation." If then this holds good in these cases, and in each individual thing which is ordered to one certain end, what we have laid down is true.

Now it is plain that the whole human race is ordered to gain some end, as has been before shown. There must, therefore, be one to guide and govern, and the proper title for this office is Monarch or Emperor. And so it is plain that Monarchy or the Empire is necessary for the welfare of the world.

Wherever there is controversy, there ought to be judgment, otherwise there would be imperfection without its proper remedy, which is impossible; for God and Nature, in things necessary, do not fail in their provisions. But it is manifest that there may be controversy between any two princes, where the one is not subject to the other, either from the fault of themselves, or even of their subjects. Therefore between them there should be means of judgment. And since, when one is not subject to the other, he cannot be judged by the other (for there is no rule of equals over equals), there must be a third prince of wider jurisdiction, within the circle of whose laws both may come.

The strongest opponent of Justice is Appetite, as Aristotle intimates in the fifth book to Nicomachus. Remove Appetite altogether, and there remains nothing adverse to Justice; and therefore it is the opinion of the Philosopher that nothing should be left to the judge, if it can be decided by law; and this ought to be done for fear of Appetite, which easily perverts men's minds. Where, then, there is nothing to be wished for, there can be no Appetite, for the passions cannot exist if their objects are destroyed. But the Monarch has nothing to desire, for his jurisdiction is bounded only by the ocean; and this is not the case with other princes, whose kingdoms are bounded by those of their neighbors; as, for instance, the kingdom of Castile is bounded by the kingdom of Aragon. From which it follows that the Monarch is able to be the purest embodiment of Justice among men.

Again, the human race is ordered best when it is most free. . . . This liberty, or this principle of all our liberty, is the greatest gift bestowed by God on mankind; by it alone we gain happiness as men; by it alone we gain happiness elsewhere as gods. But if this is so, who will say that human kind is not in its best state when it can most use this principle? But he who lives under a Monarchy is most free. Therefore let it be understood that he is free who exists not for another's sake but for his own, as the Philosopher, in his Treatise of simple Being, thought. For everything which exists for the sake of some other thing is necessitated by that other thing, as a road has to run to its ordained end. Men exist for themselves, and not at the pleasure of others, only if a Monarch rules; for then only are the perverted forms of government set right, while democracies, oligarchies, and tyrannies, drive mankind into slavery, as is obvious to any who goes about among them all; and public power is in the hands of kings and aristocracies, which they call the rule of the best, and champions of popular liberty. And because the Monarch loves his subjects much, as we have seen, he wishes all men to be good, which cannot be the case in perverted forms of government; therefore the Philosopher says, in his *Politics:* "In the bad state the good man is a bad citizen, but in a good state the two coincide." Good states in this way aim at liberty, that in them men may live for themselves. The citizens exist not for the good of consuls, nor the nation for the good of its king; but the consuls for the good of the citizens, and the king for the good of his nation. For as the laws are made to suit the state, and not the state to suit the laws, so those who live under the laws are not ordered for the legislator, but he for them as also the Philosopher holds, in what he has left us on the present subject. Hence, too, it is clear that although the king or the consul rule over the other citizens in respect of the means of government, yet in respect of the end of government they are the servants of the citizens, and especially the Monarch, who, without doubt, must be held the servant of all. Thus it becomes clear that the Monarch is bound by the end appointed to himself in making his laws.

But it must be carefully observed that when we say that mankind may be ruled by one supreme prince, we do not mean that the most trifling judgments for each particular town are to proceed immediately from him. For municipal laws sometimes fail, and need guidance, as the Philosopher shows in his fifth book to Nicomachus, when he praises equity. For nations and kingdoms and states have, each of them, certain peculiarities which must be regulated by different laws. For law is the rule which directs life. Thus the Scythians need one rule, for they live beyond the seventh climate, and suffer cold which is almost unbearable, from the great inequality of their days and nights. But the Garamantes need a different law, for their country is equinoctial, and they cannot wear many clothes, from the excessive heat of the air, because the day is as long as the darkness of the night. But our meaning is that it is in those matters which are common to all men, that men should be ruled by one Monarch, and be governed by a rule common to them all, with a view to their peace. And the individual princes must receive this rule of life or law from him, just as the practical intellect receives its major premiss from the speculative intellect, under which it places its own particular premiss, and then draws its particular conclusion, with a view to action. And it is not only possible for one man to act as we have described; it is necessary that it should proceed from one man only to avoid confusion in our first principles. Moses himself wrote in his law that he had acted thus. For he took the elders of the tribes of the children of Israel; and left to them the lesser judgments, reserving to himself such as were more important and wider in their scope; and the elders carried these wider ones to their tribes, according as they were applicable to each separate tribe.

Hence it is plain that whatever is good, is good for this reason, that it consists in unity. And because concord is a good thing in so far as it is concord, it is manifest that it consists in a certain unity, as its proper root, the nature of which will appear if we find the real nature of concord. Concord then is the uniform motion of many wills; and hence it appears that a unity of wills, by which is meant their uniform motion, is the root of concord, nay, concord itself. For as we should say that many clods of earth are concordant, because that they all gravitate together towards the centre; and that many flames are concordant because that they all ascend together towards the circumference, if they did this of their own free will, so we say that many men are in concord because that they are all moved together, as regards their willing, to one thing, which one thing is formally in their wills just as there is one quality formally in the clods of earth, that is gravity, and one in the flame of fire, that is lightness. For the force of willing is a certain power; but the quality of good which it apprehends is its form; which form, like as others, being one is multiplied in itself, according to the multiplication of the matters which receive it, as the soul, and numbers, and other forms which belong to what is compound.

To explain our assumption as we proposed, let us argue thus: All concord depends on unity which is in wills; the human race, when it is at its best, is a kind of concord; for as one man at his best is a kind of concord, and as the like is true of the family, the city, and the kingdom; so is it of the whole human race. Therefore the human race at its best depends on the unity which is in will. But this cannot be unless there be one will to be the single mistress and regulating influence of all the rest. For the wills of men, on account of the blandishments of youth, require one to direct them, as Aristotle shows in the tenth book of his *Ethics*. And this cannot be unless there is one prince over all, whose will shall be the mistress and regulating influence of all the others. But if all these conclusions be true, as they are, it is necessary for the highest welfare of the human race that there should be a Monarch in the world; and therefore Monarchy is necessary for the good of the world.

"It has often happened that the thought and life of an historical period have been impersonated in some one man of genius, who has been its type and embodiment for later times. Thus — to take the best known cases — the speculative genius of Greece is summed up in Plato, and the scientific in Aristotle; the romance and passion of the Renaissance are mirrored in Shakespeare, the ideal side of Puritanism in Milton, and the eighteenth century in Goethe. There are only two examples where a single life has in this way taken in and reproduced an entire period or phase of civilization, so as to stand alone as its sufficient monument. As Homer represents to us the pre-historic age of Greece, and as his verse bears down to us the melody and splendor of a time which we are only beginning to see by glimpses from other directions — so in Dante we have a transcript or reflex, curiously complete, of the many phases of mediæval life, in a form at once ideal and intense. All the glow of its romance is behind the transparent veil he has woven about his own 'New Life.' All the ardor of its faith is seen in the visions of unutterable glory that crowd his 'Paradise.' All its subtilties of speculation are found in the arguments and comments of his 'Banquet.' The terrible or revolting realisms of its creed fill the thronged circles of his 'Hell.' Its whole scheme of redemption is displayed in the steep ascents of his 'Purgatory.' Its partisan passion, its capacities of pride, wrath and hate, come to a hot focus in some of his 'Epistles,' or are reflected in the incidents of his career. Its fond dream of universal sovereignty, its allied ideal Empire and Church, has its completest expression and defence in his treatise on the Divine right of 'Monarchy.' There is no other name in literary history which is, in anything like so large a sense, a representative name." — *Allen.*

"The voice of six silent centuries" Dante has been called by one, "the soul of the middle ages" by another. As the first great writer to use the language of the people, as in so much besides, he was the first great modern man. He stands at the parting of the ways, is the bond of union rather, between the old time and the new. Ruskin has said, "The central man of all the world, as representing in perfect balance the imaginative, moral and intellectual faculties all at their highest, is Dante." "In all literary history there is no such figure as Dante," says our own Lowell. Tributes equally high from many thinkers equally great might be quoted to show the young people how important it will be for them to study Dante. It is especially as the representative of his own century that attention is here directed to him.

His mind took in all the interests of his time, and the historical references and relations of his works are so constant and varied that it has been well remarked that the whole history of the time becomes a commentary upon Dante and Dante a commentary upon the time.

The *Dante Handbook* by Scartazzini, translated, with additions, by Thomas Davidson, is the best general manual for the student; it contains a good life of Dante, accounts of his various works, and references to all the important illustrative books. The volume on Dante by Mrs. Oliphant, in the series of "Classics for English Readers," is simply written and quite within the comprehension of any of the young people who will be interested in the subject. Symonds's *Introduction to the Study of Dante* is an excellent work, and special attention is directed to the first chapter, on Early Italian History. Miss Rossetti's *The Shadow of Dante*, Miss Blow's work on Dante, and Botta's *Dante as Philosopher, Patriot and Poet*, are all valuable books; in the latter read especially the chapters on Dante's Patriotism and his Political System. Dean Church's little book on Dante, which is one of the best, contains a translation of the *De Monarchia* in the appendix. The notes to Longfellow's translation of the *Divine Comedy* and Norton's translation of the *New Life* are of much value. The various translations of the *Divine Comedy* and the *New Life* are well known. A translation of the *Convito*, by Sayer, has recently been published in England. Lowell's essay on Dante in *Among My Books*, 2d series, should be read by everybody; there is no better essay upon Dante. Lowell also wrote the article on Dante, embodying much from his essay, in the *American Encyclopædia*. The careful article on Dante in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is by Oscar Browning. The interesting essay on Dante by Joseph H. Allen, from which the passage quoted above is taken, is in his *Fragments of Christian History*, vol. ii. Carlyle's lecture on Dante, in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, is very eloquent and striking, notable as the first strong word upon Dante spoken by a modern Englishman. Macaulay's essay upon Dante should be noticed, and the words of Gladstone, who is a devoted student of Dante. All the great modern Italians have been ardent lovers of Dante, in whom they find the prophet of "New Italy." Read Rossetti's *Early Italian Poets* and other works touching Dante, Mazzini's interesting essay, and Hermann Grimm's essay on *Dante and the Recent Italian Struggle*, in the volume of his essays translated by Miss Adams. Read in connection Michael Angelo's two sonnets upon Dante. Milman's pages upon Dante, in his *Latin Christianity*, and Bryce's, in his *Holy Roman Empire*, are specially important as treating Dante's relations to the life and thought of the middle ages; the latter takes up particularly the *De Monarchia*.

Dante's *De Monarchia*, from which selections are printed in the present Leaflet, is one of the noblest and most noteworthy of the many works in which, from the time of Plato's *Republic* and Augustine's *City of God* to the time of Campanella's *City of the Sun*, More's *Utopia*, Bacon's *New Altantis*, Harrington's *Oceana*, Kant's *Eternal Peace*, and Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, brave idealists have sketched a better social organization. There was nothing dreamy or romantic in Dante's work; it was one of the most serious and practical political tracts, in its purpose, ever written. The work is divided into three parts — the first intended to show that mankind must be politically united in order to realize its true destiny; the second, to demonstrate that it belongs to Italy to effect that union; the third, to assert the separation and independence of the State from the Church. The poet in our time dreams of "the parliament of man, the federation of the world." Dante could think of the world's political unity only under the form of one great empire. But it is important to fix the mind on what is essential in Dante's scheme, not on what was local and accidental. German scholars have observed that it is in our own federal republic that Dante's conception finds its truest realization. The Italian Botta says: "It anticipates in some measure the plan adopted by Washington and his compeers in the Constitution of the United States, differing, however, in this, that while the American Republic extends to states geographically and ethnographically integrant parts of the same country, the Italian empire, as proposed by Dante, would have embraced all the world, and have placed Italy, in relation to other nations, as the sun to the planets, whose influence unites them in their harmonious movements, while it gives them free scope in their appointed orbits. . . . In advocating the union of mankind under the leadership of Italy, Dante did not intend to place other nations under her military despotism. The revival of the empire he contemplated was not that of the Asiatic monarchies, neither was it that of Charlemagne or Charles V. His plan, grand in its conception, resting on the basis of liberty, both national and individual, was derived, on the one hand, from ancient Rome, where the emperor was but a citizen charged with the high office of tribune, and with the defence of popular rights against the patricians; on the other, from the idea of modern governments founded on the political union of municipalities belonging to the same nation. Hence the idea of Dante did not necessarily involve monarchical institutions, as is commonly believed, but simply the concentration of social power into an individual or collective authority, which should exercise the common sovereignty for the good of the people. Admitting all forms of government, as circumstances might require, the plan of Dante was adapted to all nations, their different characters, traditions, and wants. It was essentially liberal and democratic."

The date which the young people are asked to remember in connection with the life and times of Dante is 1289, the year of the battle of Campaldino, in which Dante fought. This battle effected the overthrow of the

Ghibellines in Italy; the date is therefore serviceable for fixing in mind the period of the long conflict between the papal and imperial factions known as the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, which began just a century and a half before. Dante was now entering upon active life; he was twenty-four years old, having been born in 1265. Dante returned from this battle, we read, "to his studies and his love." The year after the battle was the year of the death of Beatrice, whom Dante had first met sixteen years before, when both were in their ninth year. Dante's *Vita Nuova* is the story of his love for Beatrice. His *Convito* is a philosophic treatise. Dante was a profound student of philosophy, influenced chiefly by Aristotle (whom he always means when, as in the passages in the present Leaflet, he speaks of "the Philosopher" or "the Master") and Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas, the greatest of the schoolmen, died the year that Dante first met Beatrice; Albertus Magnus died six years later; Duns Scotus was probably born in the same year with Dante; and William of Occam, the last great schoolman, five years afterwards. With Dante's life it is thus easy to connect the whole later history of scholasticism, as it was easy to connect its earlier history with the life of Lanfranc. William of Occam was born the same year (1270) that St. Louis, the leader of the last Crusade, died before Tunis; the epoch of the Crusades was thus ending just as Dante's life began. It will be remembered that Prince Edward of England accompanied King Louis on the last Crusade. He returned to England in 1272, and succeeded his father the same year — as Edward I. The time of Edward I, as all the young people who have studied English history know, was the time of Wallace, Baliol and Bruce. It was by Edward that Wallace was put to death; but it was Edward's successor, Edward II, whom Bruce defeated at Bannockburn, in 1314. The famous battle of Morgarten, in Switzerland, the victory of the Swiss confederation over the Austrians, came the next year, 1315; the beginning of the Swiss confederation and the exploits of William Tell, if there were a William Tell, belong to the years just before this, the years when Dante in Italy was writing his *De Monarchia*. Rudolph of Hapsburg became emperor, "king of the Romans," when Dante was a boy. The very year of Dante's birth, 1265, was the year when the first real Parliament met in England, summoned by Simon de Montfort, who had won the victory of Lewes the previous year. It was in the year of Dante's birth that we know that the composition of gunpowder was known to Roger Bacon; it was invented a few years before Dante's birth, and the first cannon appeared a few years after his death. 1250 is the year to which the invention of gunpowder is usually assigned. The Sorbonne at Paris was founded the same year, and University College at Oxford, the oldest of the Oxford colleges, the year before, these two famous schools having thus just come into being as Dante was born. Marco Polo, the famous traveller, whose book about the East should by and by stimulate the Portuguese navigators to their voyages round the Cape of Good Hope and also rouse the passion for discovery in the breast of Columbus, was a contemporary of Dante and an Italian like himself; he was born at Venice a few years before Dante was born and died two years after Dante died, and he was writing the account of his travels, immured in a dungeon at Genoa, while Dante was in the midst of the stormy politics of Florence. The early years of Dante's life were the last years of the life of the celebrated Persian poet, Saadi; Saadi was once taken prisoner by the Crusaders near Jerusalem. Giotto, the great Italian painter, was the personal friend of Dante, and, as many of the young people know, painted his portrait, which has been preserved for us in a fresco, long hidden, on the wall of the palace of the Podesta at Florence. Cimabue, Giotto's master and the first celebrated name in the history of Italian painting, was also Dante's contemporary, painting his famous pictures for the churches of Florence while Dante was a young man in the city. This gives us a date for our studies of early Italian art. In our studies of Italian literature we can similarly remember that Petrarch and Boccaccio, who wrote a life of Dante, were both born before Dante died, the former approaching manhood, the latter being but a child, in the year of Dante's death, 1321. Wyclif, who will be the central figure in our study of the 14th century, was born three years after the death of Dante.

Since the above notes were written to accompany this leaflet as first prepared in connection with the Old South lectures for young people on "The Story of the Centuries," in 1888, much important Dante literature has been published in England and America. Moore's "Studies in Dante" and other volumes are of high critical value. A J. Butler's translations and essays should be noticed; and Butler has also translated from the German Scartazzini's "A Companion to Dante." A new translation of the "Convito" has been made by Hillard. Professor Norton has published a translation of the whole of the "Divine Comedy" in prose. H. Oelsner's "The Influence of Dante on Modern Thought" is a most suggestive study. An admirable Dante bibliography has been prepared by William C. Lane, librarian of the Harvard University Library.

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Life in Utopia.

From Sir Thomas More's "Utopia."

Husbandry is a science common to them all in general, both men and women, wherein they be all expert and cunning. In this they be all instruct even from their youth: partly in their schools with traditions and precepts, and partly in the country nigh the city, brought up as it were in playing, not only beholding the use of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also. Besides husbandry, which (as I said) is common to them all, every one of them learneth one or other several and particular science, as his own proper craft. That is most commonly either clothworking in wool or flax, or masonry, or the smith's craft, or the carpenter's science. For there is none other occupation that any number to speak of doth use there. For their garments, which throughout all the island be of one fashion (saving that there is a difference between the man's garment and the woman's, between the married and the unmarried) and this one continueth for evermore unchanged, seemly and comely to the eye, no let to the moving and wielding of the body, also fit both for winter and summer: as for these garments (I say) every family maketh their own. But of the other foresaid crafts every man learneth one. And not only the men, but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sort, be put to the easier crafts: as to work wool and flax. The more laboursome sciences be committed to the men. For the most part every man is brought up in his father's craft. For most commonly they be naturally thereto bent and inclined. But if a man's mind stand to any other, he is by adoption put into a family of that occupation which he doth most fantasy. Whom not only his father, but also the magistrates do diligently look to, that he be put to a discreet and an honest householder. Yea, and if any person, when he hath learned one craft, be desirous to learn also another, he is likewise suffered and permitted.

When he hath learned both, he occupieth whether he will: unless the city have more need of the one, than of the other. The chief and almost the only office of the syphograntsis, to see and take heed that no man sit idle: but that every one apply his own craft with earnest diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from early in the morning, to late in the evening, with continual work, like labouring and toiling beasts.

For this is worse than the miserable and wretched condition of bondmen. Which nevertheless is almost everywhere the life of workmen and artificers, saving in Utopia. For they dividing the day and the night into twenty-four just hours, appoint and assign only six of these hours to work before noon, upon the which they go straight to dinner: and after dinner, when they have rested two hours, then they work three hours and upon that they go to supper. About eight of the clock in the evening (counting one of the clock at the first hour after noon) they go to bed: eight hours they give to sleep. All the void time, that is between the hours of work, sleep, and meat, that they be suffered to bestow, every man as he liketh best himself. Not to the intent that they should misspend this time in riot or slothfulness: but being then licensed from the labour of their own occupations, to bestow the time well and thriftly upon some other science, as shall please them. For it is a solemn custom there, to have lectures daily early in the morning, where to be present they only be constrained that be namely chosen and appointed to learning. Howbeit a great multitude of every sort of people, both men and women, go to hear lectures, some one and some another, as every man's nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestow this time upon his own occupation (as it chanceth in many, whose minds rise not in the contemplation of any science liberal) he is not let, nor prohibited, but is also praised and commended, as profitable to the commonwealth. After supper they bestow one hour in play: in summer in their gardens: in winter in their common halls: where they dine and sup. There they exercise themselves in music, or else in honest and wholesome communication. Diceplay, and such other foolish and pernicious games they know not. But they use two games not much unlike the chess. The one is the battle of numbers, wherein one number stealeth away another. The other is wherein vices fight with virtues, as it were in battle array, or a set field. In the which game is very properly showed, both the strife and discord that vices have among themselves, and again their unity and concord against virtues. And also what vices be repugnant to what virtues: with what power and strength they assail them openly: by what wiles and subtlety they assault them secretly: with what help and aid the virtues resist and overcome the puissance of the vices: by what craft they frustrate their purposes: and finally by what sleight or means the one getteth the victory. But here lest you be deceived, one thing you must look more narrowly upon. For seeing they bestow but six hours in work, perchance you may think that the lack of some necessary things hereof may ensue. But this is nothing so. For that small time is not only enough but also too much for the store and abundance of all things that be requisite, either for the necessity, or commodity of life. The which thing you also shall perceive, if you weigh and consider with yourselves how great a part of the people in other countries liveth idle. First almost all women, which be the half of the whole number: or else if the women be somewhere occupied, there most commonly in their stead the men be idle. Besides this how great and how idle a company is there of priests, and religious men, as they call them? put thereto all rich men, especially all landed men, which commonly be called gentlemen, and noblemen. Take into this number also their servants: I mean all that flock of stout bragging rush bucklers. Join to them also sturdy and valiant beggars, cloaking their idle life under the colour of some disease or sickness. And truly you shall find them much fewer than you thought, by whose labour all these things are wrought, that in men's affairs are now daily used and frequented. Now consider with yourself, of these few that do work, how few be occupied, in necessary works. For where money beareth all the swing, there many vain and superfluous occupations must needs be used, to serve only for riotous superfluity and unhonest pleasure. For the same multitude that now is occupied in work, if they were divided into so few occupations as the necessary use of nature requireth; in so great plenty of things as then of necessity would ensue, doubtless the prices would be too little for the artificers to maintain their livings. But if all these, that be now busied about unprofitable occupations, with all the whole flock of them that live idly and slothfully, which consume and waste every one of them more of these things that come by other men's labour, than two of the workmen themselves do: if all these (I say) were set to profitable occupations, you easily perceive how little time would be enough, yea and too much to store us with all things that may be requisite either for necessity, or for commodity, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be true and natural.

And this in Utopia the thing itself maketh manifest and plain. For there in all the city, with the whole country, or shire adjoining to it, scarcely 500 persons of all the whole number of men and women, that be neither too old, nor too weak to work, be licensed and discharged from labour. Among them be the syphogrants, who though they be by the laws exempt and privileged from labour, yet they exempt not themselves: to the intent that they may the rather by their example provoke other to work. The same vacation from labour do they also enjoy, to whom the people persuaded by the commendation of the priests, and secret election of the syphogrants, have given a perpetual licence from labour to learning. But if any one of them prove not according to the expectation and hope of him conceived, he is forthwith plucked back to the company of artificers. And contrariwise, often it chanceth that a handicraftsman doth so earnestly bestow his vacant and spare hours in learning, and through diligence so profiteth therein, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Out of this order of the learned be chosen ambassadors, priests, tranibores, and finally the prince himself. Whom they in their old tongue call Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adamus. The residue of the people being neither idle, nor yet occupied about unprofitable exercises, it may be easily judged in how few hours how much good work by them may be done and despatched, towards those things that I have spoken of. This commodity they have also above other, that in the most part of necessary occupations they need not so much work, as other nations do. For first of all the building or repairing of houses asketh everywhere so many men's continual labour, because that the unthrifty heir suffereth the houses that his father builded in continuance of time to fall in decay. So that which he might have upholden with little cost, his successor is constrained to build it again anew, to his great charge. Yea many times also the house that stood one man in much money, another is of so nice and so delicate a mind, that he setteth nothing by it. And it being neglected, and therefore shortly falling into ruin, he buildeth up another in another place with no less cost and charge. But among the Utopians, where all things be set in good order, and the commonwealth in a good stay, it very seldom chanceth, that they choose a new plot to build an house upon. And they do not only find speedy and quick remedies for present faults: but also prevent them that be like to fall. And by this means their houses continue and last very long with little labour and small reparations:

insomuch that this kind of workmen sometimes have almost nothing to do. But that they be commanded to hew timber at home, and to square and trim up stones, to the intent that if any work chance, it may the speedier rise. Now, sir, in their apparel, mark (I pray you) how few workmen they need. First of all, whilst they be at work, they be covered homely with leather or skins, that will last seven years. When they go forth they cast upon them a cloak, which hideth the other homely apparel. These cloaks throughout the whole island be all of one colour, and that is the natural color of the wool. They therefore do not only spend much less woollen cloth than is spent in other countries, but also the same standeth them in much less cost. But linen cloth is made with less labour, and is therefore had more in use. But in linen cloth only whiteness, in woollen only cleanliness is regarded. As for the smallness or fineness of the thread, that is nothing passed for. And this is the cause wherefore in other places four or five cloth gowns of divers colours, and as many silk coats be not enough for one man. Yea and if he be of the delicate and nice sort ten be too few: whereas there one garment will serve a man most commonly two years. For why should he desire more? Seeing if he had them, he should not be the better wrapped or covered from cold, neither in his apparel any whit the comelier. Wherefore, seeing they be all exercised in profitable occupations, and that few artificers in the same crafts be sufficient, this is the cause that plenty of all things being among them, they do sometimes bring forth an innumerable company of people to amend the highways, if any be broken. Many times also, when they have no such work to be occupied about, an open proclamation is made, that they shall bestow fewer hours in work. For the magistrates do not exercise their citizens against their wills in unneedful labours. For why in the institution of that weal public, this end is only and chiefly pretended and minded, that what time may possibly be spared from the necessary occupations and affairs of the commonwealth, all that the citizens should withdraw from the bodily service to the free liberty of the mind, and garnishing of the same. For herein they suppose the felicity of this life to consist.

But now will I declare how the citizens use themselves one towards another: what familiar occupying and entertainment there is among the people, and what fashion they use in the distribution of every thing. First the city consisteth of families, the families most commonly be made of kindreds. For the women, when they be married at a lawful age, they go into their husbands' houses. But the male children with all the whole male offspring continue still in their own family, and be governed of the eldest and ancientest father, unless he dote for age: for then the next to him in age is placed in his room. But to the intent the prescript number of the citizens should neither decrease, nor above measure increase, it is ordained that no family which in every city be six thousand in the whole, besides them of the country, shall at once have fewer children of the age of fourteen years or thereabout than ten or more than sixteen, for of children under this age no number can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or number is easily observed and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be above the number into families of smaller increase. But if chance be that in the whole city the store increase above the just number, therewith they fill up the lack of other cities. But if so be that the multitude throughout the whole island pass and exceed the due number, then they choose out of every city certain citizens, and build up a town under their own laws in the next land where the inhabitants have much waste and unoccupied ground, receiving also of the same country people to join them, if they will join and dwell with him. They thus joining and dwelling together do easily agree in one fashion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they so bring the matter about by their laws, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is now sufficient and fruitful enough for them both. But if the inhabitants of that land will not dwell with them to be ordered by their laws, then they drive them out of those bounds which they have limited, and appointed out for themselves. And if they resist and rebel, then they make war against them. For they count this the most just cause of war, when any people holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant to no good nor profitable use, keeping other from the use and possession of it, which notwithstanding by the law of nature ought thereof to be nourished and relieved. If any chance do so much diminish the number of any of their cities, that it cannot be filled up again, without the diminishing of the just number of the other cities (which they say chanced but twice since the beginning of the land through a great pestilent plague) then they fulfil and make up the number with citizens fetched out of their own foreign towns, for they had rather suffer their foreign towns to decay and perish, than any city of their own island to be diminished.

But now again to the conversation of the citizens among themselves. The eldest (as I said) ruleth the family. The wives be ministers to their husbands, the children to their parents, and to be short the younger to their elders. Every city is divided into four equal parts or quarters. In the midst of every quarter there is a market place of all manner of things. Thither the works of every family be brought into certain houses. And every kind of thing is laid up several in barns or storehouses. From hence the father of every family, or every householder fetcheth whatsoever he and his have need of, and carrieth it away with him without money, without exchange, without gage, pawn, or pledge. For why should any thing be denied unto him? Seeing there is abundance of all things, and that it is not to be feared, lest any man will ask more than he needeth. For why should it be thought that that man would ask more than enough, which is sure never to lack? Certainly in all kinds of living creatures either fear of lack doth cause covetousness and ravin, or in man only pride, which counteth it a glorious thing to pass and excel other in the superfluous and vain ostentation of things. The which kind of vice among the Utopians can have no place. Next to the market places that I spake of, stand meat markets: whither be brought not only all sorts of herbs, and the fruits of trees, with bread, but also fish, and all manner of four-footed beasts, and wild fowl that be man's meat. But first the filthiness and odour thereof is clean washed away in the running river without the city in places appointed meet for the same purpose. From thence the beasts be brought in killed, and clean washed by the hands of their bondmen. For they permit not their free citizens to accustom themselves to the killing of beasts, through the use whereof they think clemency, the gentlest affection of our nature, by little and little to decay and perish. Neither they suffer any thing that is filthy, loathsome, or uncleanly, to be brought into the city, lest the air by the stench thereof infected and corrupt, should cause pestilent diseases. Moreover every street hath certain great large halls set in equal distance one from another, every one known by a several name. In these halls dwell the syphogrants. And to every one of the same halls be appointed thirty families, on either side fifteen. The stewards of every hall at a certain hour come into the meat markets, where they receive meat according to the number of their halls. But first and chiefly of all, respect is had to the sick, that be cured in the hospitals. For in the circuit of the city, a little without the walls, they have four hospitals, so big, so wide, so ample, and so large, that they may seem four little towns, which were devised of that bigness partly to the intent the sick, be they never so many in number, should not lie too throng or strait, and therefore uneasily and incommodiously: and partly that they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, such as be wont by infection to creep from one to another, might be laid apart far from the company of the residue. These hospitals be so well appointed, and with all things necessary to health so furnished, and moreover so diligent attendance through the continual presence of cunning physicians is given, that though no man be sent thither against his will, yet notwithstanding there is no sick person in all the city, that had not rather lie there, than at home in his own house. When the steward of the sick hath received such meats as the physicians have prescribed, then the best is equally divided among the halls, according to the company of every one, saving that there is had a respect to the prince, the bishop, the tranibores, and to ambassadors and all strangers, if there be any, which be very few and seldom. But they also when they be there, have certain several houses appointed and prepared for them. To these halls at the set hours of dinner and supper cometh all the whole syphogranty or ward, warned by the noise of a brazen trumpet: except such as be sick in the hospitals, or else in their own houses. Howbeit no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halls be served, to fetch home meat out of the market to his own house, for they know that no man will do it without a cause reasonable. For though no man be prohibited to dine at home, yet no man doth it willingly: because it is counted a point of small honesty. And also it were a folly to take the pain to dress a bad dinner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fine fare so nigh hand at the hall. In this hall all vile service, all slavery, and drudgery, with all laboursome toil, and base business is done by bondmen. But the women of every family by course have the office and charge of cookery for seething and dressing the meat, and ordering all things thereto belonging. They sit at three tables or more, according to the number of their company. The men sit upon the bench next the wall, and the women against them on the other side of the table, that if any sudden evil should chance to them, as many times happeneth to women with child, they may rise without trouble or disturbance of anybody, and go thence into the nursery. The nurses sit several alone with their young sucklings in a certain parlour appointed and deputed to the same purpose, never without fire and clean water, nor yet without cradles, that when they will they may lay down the young infants, and at their pleasure take them out of their swathing clothes, and hold them to the fire, and refresh them with play. Every mother is nurse to her own child, unless either death or sickness be the let. When that chanceth, the wives of the syphogrants quickly provide a nurse. And that is not hard to be done. For they that can do it, proffer themselves to no service so gladly as to that. Because that there this kind of pity is much praised: and the child that is nourished, ever after taketh his nurse for his own natural mother. Also among the nurses sit all the children that be under the age of five years. All the other children of both kinds, as well boys as girls, that be under the age of marriage, do either serve at the tables, or else if they be too young thereto, yet they stand by with marvellous silence. That which is given to them from the table they eat, and other several dinner-time they have none. The syphogrant and his wife sit in the midst of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honourablest place, and because from thence all the whole company is in their sight. For that table standeth overthwart the over end of the hall. To them be joined two of the ancientest and eldest. For at every table they sit four at a mess. But if there be a church standing in that syphogrant or ward, then the priest and his wife sitteth with the syphogranty, as chief in the company. On both sides of them sit young men, and next unto them again old men. And thus throughout all the house equal of age be set together, and yet be mixed and matched with unequal ages. This, they say, was ordained, to the intent that the sage gravity and reverence of the elders should keep the younger from wanton licence of words and behaviour. Forasmuch as nothing can be so secretly spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other must needs perceive it. The dishes be not set down in order from the first place, but all the old men (whose places be marked with some special token to be known) be first served of their meat, and then the residue equally. The old men divide their dainties as they think best to the younger on each side of them.

Thus the elders be not defrauded of their due honour, and nevertheless equal commodity cometh to every one. They begin every dinner and supper of reading something that pertaineth to good manners and virtue. But it is short, because no man shall be grieved therewith. Hereof the elders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sad nor unpleasant. Howbeit they do not spend all the whole dinner-time themselves with long and tedious talks: but they gladly hear also the young men: yea, and purposely provoke them to talk, to the intent that they may have a proof of every man's wit, and towardness, or disposition to virtue, which commonly in the liberty of feasting doth show and utter itself. Their dinners be very short: but their suppers be somewhat longer, because that after dinner followeth labour, after supper sleep and natural rest, which they think to be of more strength and efficacy to wholesome and healthful digestion. No supper is passed without music. Nor their banquets lack no conceits nor junkets. They burn sweet gums and spices or perfumes, and pleasant smells, and sprinkle about sweet ointments and waters, yea, they leave nothing undone that maketh for the cheering of the company. For they be much inclined to this opinion: to think no kind of pleasure forbidden, whereof cometh no harm. Thus therefore and after this sort they live together in the city, but in the country they that dwell alone far from any neighbours, do dine and sup at home in their own houses. For no family there lacketh any kind of victuals, as from whom cometh all that the citizens eat and live by.

Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* is one of the most famous of that long series of works in which, from the time of Plato's *Republic* to the time of Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, dreamers of a better society have endeavored to picture the ideal commonwealth. It has a peculiar interest for America in having been published just as the New World was being made known to Europe. Raphael Hythloday, into whose mouth More puts the story of Utopia, is represented as an adventurous scholar who had been with Amerigo Vespucci on his voyages of discovery; and it was during his explorations when left behind with others at the end of the last voyage that his finding of Utopia is placed. The following account of More's great work is from the chapter on "The Revival of Learning," in Green's *History of the English People:*

Daring and full of promise as were the efforts of the New Learning in the direction of educational and religious reform, its political and social speculations took a far wider range in the "Utopia" of Thomas More. Even in the household of Cardinal Morton, where he had spent his childhood, More's precocious ability had raised the highest hopes. "Whoever may live to see it," the grey-haired statesman used to say, "this boy now waiting at table will turn out a marvellous man." We have seen the spell which his wonderful learning and the sweetness of his temper threw at Oxford over Colet and Erasmus; and young as he was, More no sooner quitted the University than he was known throughout Europe as one of the foremost figures in the new movement. The keen, irregular face, the grey restless eye, the thin mobile lips, the tumbled brown hair, the careless gait and dress, as they remain stamped on the canvas of Holbein, picture the inner soul of the man, his vivacity, his restless, all-devouring intellect, his keen and èven reckless wit, the kindly, half-sad humor that drew its strange veil of laughter and tears over the deep, tender reverence of the soul within. In a higher, because in a sweeter and more lovable form than Colet, More is the representative of the religious tendency of the New Learning in England. The young law-student who laughed at the superstition and asceticism of the monks of his day wore a hair shirt next his skin, and schooled himself by penances for the cell he desired among the Carthusians. It was characteristic of the man that among all the gay, profligate scholars of the Italian Renascence he chose as the object of his admiration the disciple of Savonarola, Pico di Mirandola. Free-thinker as the bigots who listened to his daring speculations termed him, his eye would brighten and his tongue falter as he spoke with friends of heaven and the after-life. When he took office, it was with the open stipulation "first to look to God, and after God to the King."

In his outer bearing indeed there was nothing of the monk or recluse. The brightness and freedom of the New Learning seemed incarnate in the young scholar with his gay talk, his winsomeness of manner, his reckless epigrams, his passionate love of music, his omnivorous reading, his paradoxical speculations, his gibes at monks, his schoolboy fervour of liberty. But events were soon to prove that beneath this sunny nature lay a stern inflexibility of conscientious resolve. The Florentine scholars penned declamations against tyrants while they covered with their flatteries the tyranny of the house of Medici. More no sooner entered Parliament in 1504 than his ready argument and keen sense of justice led to the rejection of the demand for a heavy subsidy. "A beardless boy," said the courtiers,—and More was only twenty-six,—"has disappointed the King's purpose;" and during the rest of Henry the Seventh's reign the young lawyer found it prudent to withdraw from public life. But the withdrawal had little effect on his buoyant activity. He rose at once into repute at the bar. He wrote his "Life of Edward the Fifth," the first work in which what we may call modern English prose appears written with purity and clearness of style and a freedom either from antiquated forms of expression or classical pedantry. His ascetic dreams were replaced by the affections of home. It is when we get a glimpse of him in his house at Chelsea that we understand the endearing epithets which Erasmus always lavishes upon More. The delight of the young husband was to train the girl he had chosen for his wife in his own taste for letters and for music. The reserve which the age exacted from parents was thrown to the winds in More's intercourse with his children. He loved teaching them, and lured them to their deeper studies by the coins and curiosities he had gathered in his cabinet. He was as fond of their pets and their games as his children themselves, and would take grave scholars and statesmen into the garden to see his girls' rabbit-hutches or to watch the gambols of their favourite monkey. "I have given you kisses enough," he wrote to his little ones in merry verse when far away on political business, "but stripes hardly ever."

The accession of Henry the Eighth drew More back into the political current. It was at his house that Erasmus penned the "Praise of Folly," and the work, in its Latin title, "Moriæ Encomium," embodied in playful fun his love of the extravagant humour of More. He was already in Henry's favour; he was soon called to the royal court and used in the King's service. But More "tried as hard to keep out of court," says his descendant, "as most men try to get into it." When the charm of his conversation gave so much pleasure to the young sovereign "that he could not once in a month get leave to go home to his wife or children, whose company he much desired, . . . he began thereupon to dissemble his nature, and so, little by little, from his former mirth to dissemble himself." He shared to the full the disappointment of his friends at the sudden outbreak of Henry's warlike temper, but the Peace again brought him to Henry's side and he was soon in the King's confidence both as a counsellor and as a diplomatist. It was on one of his diplomatic missions that More describes himself as hearing news of the Kingdom of "Nowhere." "On a certain day when I had heard mass in Our Lady's Church, which is the fairest, the most gorgeous and curious church of building in all the city of Antwerp and also most frequented of people, and service being over I was ready to go home to my lodgings, I chanced to espy my friend Peter Gilles talking with a certain stranger, a man well striken in age, with a black sun-burnt face, a large beard, and a cloke cast trimly about his shoulders, whom by his favour and apparell forthwith I judged to be a mariner." The sailor turned out to have been a companion of Amerigo Vespucci in those voyages to the New World "that be now in print and abroad in every man's hand," and on More's invitation he accompanied him to his house, and "there in my garden upon a bench covered with green turves we sate down, talking together" of the man's marvellous adventures, his desertion in America by Vespucci, his wanderings over the country under the equinoctial line, and at last of his stay in the Kingdom of "Nowhere."

It was the story of "Nowhere," or Utopia, which More began in 1515 to embody in the wonderful book which reveals to us the heart of the New Learning. As yet the movement had been one of scholars and divines. Its plans of reform had been almost exclusively intellectual and religious. But in More the same free play of thought which had shaken off the old forms of education and faith turned to question the old forms of society and politics. From a world where fifteen hundred years of Christian teaching had produced social injustice, religious intolerance, and political tyranny, the humourist philosopher turned to a "Nowhere" in which the mere efforts of natural human virtue realized those ends of security, equality, brotherhood, and freedom for which the very institution of society seemed to have been framed. It is as he wanders through this dreamland of the new reason that More touches the great problems which were fast opening before the modern world, problems of labour, of crime, of conscience, of government. Merely to have seen and to have examined questions such as these would prove the keenness of his intellect, but its far-reaching originality is shown in the solutions which he proposes. Amidst much that is the pure play of an exuberant fancy, much that is mere recollection of the dreams of bygone dreamers, we find again and again the most important social and political discoveries of later times anticipated by the genius of Thomas More.

In some points, such as his treatment of the question of Labour, he still remains far in advance of current opinion. The whole system of society around him seemed to him "nothing but a conspiracy of the rich against the poor." Its economic legislation from the Statute of Labourers to the statutes by which the Parliament of 1515 strove to fix a standard of wages was simply the carrying out of such a conspiracy by process of law. "The rich are ever striving to pare away something further from the daily wages of the poor by private fraud and even by public law, so that the wrong already existing (for it is a wrong that those from whom the State derives most benefit should receive least reward) is made yet greater by means of the law of the State." "The rich devise every means by which they may in the first place secure to themselves what they have amassed by wrong, and then take to their own use and profit at the lowest possible price the work and labour of the poor. And so soon as the rich decide on adopting these devices in the name of the public, then they become law." The result was the wretched existence to which the labour class was doomed, "a life so wretched that even a beast's life seems enviable." No such cry of pity for the poor, of protest against the system of agrarian and manufacturing tyranny which found its expression in the Statute-book had been heard since the days of Piers Ploughman. But from Christendom More turns with a smile to "Nowhere." In "Nowhere" the aim of legislation is to secure the welfare, social, industrial, intellectual, religious, of the community at large, and of the labour-class as the true basis of a well-ordered commonwealth. The end of its labour-laws was simply the welfare of the labourer. Goods were possessed indeed in common, but work was compulsory with all. The period of toil was shortened to the nine hours demanded by modern artizans, and the object of this curtailment was the intellectual improvement of the worker. "In the institution of the weal public this end is only and chiefly pretended and minded that what time may possibly be spared from the necessary occupations and affairs of the commonwealth, all that the citizens should withdraw from bodily service to the free liberty of the mind and garnishing of the same. For herein they conceive the felicity of this life to consist." A public system of education enabled the

Utopians to avail themselves of their leisure. While in England half of the population could read no English, every child was well taught in "Nowhere." The physical aspects of society were cared for as attentively as its moral. The houses of Utopia "in the beginning were very low and like homely cottages or poor shepherd huts made at all adventures of every rude piece of timber that came first to hand, with mud walls and ridged roofs thatched over with straw." The picture was really that of the common English town of More's day, the home of squalor and pestilence. In Utopia however they had at last come to realize the connexion between public morality and the health which springs from light, air, comfort, and cleanliness. "The streets were twenty feet broad; the houses backed by spacious gardens, and curiously builded after a gorgeous and gallant sort, with their stories one after another. The outsides of the walls be made either of hard flint, or of plaster, or else of brick; and the inner sides be well strengthened by timber work. The roofs be plain and flat, covered over with plaster, so tempered that no fire can hurt or perish it, and withstanding the violence of the weather better than lead. They keep the wind out of their windows with glass, for it is there much used, and sometimes also with fine linen cloth dipped in oil or amber, and that for two commodities, for by this means more light cometh in and the wind is better kept out."

The same foresight which appears in More's treatment of the questions of Labor and the Public Health is yet more apparent in his treatment of the question of Crime. He was the first to suggest that punishment was less effective in suppressing it than prevention. "If you allow your people to be badly taught, their morals to be corrupted from childhood, and then when they are men punish them for the very crimes to which they have been trained in childhood—what is this but to make thieves and then to punish them?" He was the first to plead for proportion between the punishment and the crime, and to point out the folly of the cruel penalties of his day. "Simple theft is not so great an offence as to be punished with death." If a thief and a murderer are sure of the same penalty, More shows that the law is simply tempting the thief to secure his theft by murder. "While we go about to make thieves afraid, we are really provoking them to kill good men." The end of all punishment he declares to be reformation, "nothing else but the destruction of vice and the saving of men." He advises "so using and ordering criminals that they cannot choose but be good; and what harm soever they did before, the residue of their lives to make amends for the same." Above all he urges that to be remedial punishment must be wrought out by labour and hope, so that "none is hopeless or in despair to recover again his former state of freedom by giving good tokens and likelihood of himself that he will ever after that live a true and honest man." It is not too much to say that in the great principles More lays down he anticipated every one of the improvements in our criminal system which have distinguished the last hundred years.

His treatment of the religious question was even more in advance of his age. If the houses of Utopia were strangely in contrast with the halls of England, where the bones from every dinner lay rotting in the dirty straw which strewed the floor, where the smoke curled about the rafters, and the wind whistled through the unglazed windows; if its penal legislation had little likeness to the gallows which stood out so frequently against our English sky; the religion of "Nowhere" was in yet stronger conflict with the faith of Christendom. It rested simply on nature and reason. It held that God's design was the happiness of man, and that the ascetic rejection of human delights, save for the common good, was thanklessness to the Giver. Christianity indeed had already reached Utopia, but it had few priests; religion found its centre rather in the family than in the congregation: and each household confessed its faults to its own natural head. A yet stranger characteristic was seen in the peaceable way in which it lived side by side with the older religions. More than a century before William of Orange, More discerned and proclaimed the great principle of religious toleration. In "Nowhere" it is lawful to every man to be of what religion he would. Even the disbelievers in a Divine Being or in the immortality of man, who by a single exception to its perfect religious indifference were excluded from public office, were excluded, not on the ground of their religious belief, but because their opinions were deemed to be degrading to mankind and therefore to incapacitate those who held them from governing in a noble temper. But they were subject to no punishment, because the people of Utopia were "persuaded that it is not in a man's power to believe what he list." The religion which a man held he might propagate by argument, though not by violence or insult to the religion of others. But while each sect performed its rites in private, all assembled for public worship in a spacious temple, where the vast throng, clad in white, and grouped round a priest clothed in fair raiment wrought marvellously out of birds' plumage, joined in hymns and prayers so framed as to be acceptable to all. The importance of this public devotion lay in the evidence it afforded that liberty of conscience could be combined with religious unity.

But even more important than More's defence of religious freedom was his firm maintenance of political liberty against the monarchy. Steady and irresistible as was the growth of the royal power, it was far from seeming to the keenest political thinker of that day so natural and inevitable a development of our history as it seems to some writers in our own. In political hints which lie scattered over the whole of the Utopia More notes with a bitter irony the advance of the new despotism. It was only in "Nowhere" that a sovereign was "removable on suspicion of a design to enslave his people." In England the work of slavery was being quietly wrought, hints the great lawyer, through the law, "There will never be wanting some pretence for deciding in the king's favour; as that equity is on his side, or the strict letter of the law, or some forced interpretation of it: or if none of these, that the royal prerogative ought with conscientious judges to outweigh all other considerations." We are startled at the precision with which More describes the processes by which the law courts were to lend themselves to the advance of tyranny till their crowning judgement in the case of ship-money. But behind these judicial expedients lay great principles of absolutism, which partly from the example of foreign monarchies, partly from the sense of social and political insecurity, and yet more from the isolated position of the Crown, were gradually winning their way in public opinion. "These notions" — More goes boldly on in words written, it must be remembered, within the precincts of Henry's court and beneath the eye of Wolsey — "these notions are fostered by the maxim that the king can do no wrong, however much he may wish to do it; that not only the property but the persons of his subjects are his own; and that a man has a right to no more than the king's goodness thinks fit not to take from him." It is only in the light of this emphatic protest against the king-worship which was soon to override liberty and law that we can understand More's later career. Steady to the last in his loyalty to Parliaments, as steady in his resistance to mere personal rule, it was with a smile as fearless as the smile with which he penned the half-jesting words of his Utopia that he sealed them with his blood on Tower Hill.

Sir Thomas More was born in London, Feb. 7, 1477–78. He was sent at an early age to St. Anthony's School, where he had been preceded by John Colet, the future dean of St. Paul's,— subsequently his intimate friend,— "the director of his life" he called him. At the age of thirteen he was placed by his father in the household of Thomas Morton, archbishop of Canterbury and lord chancellor; and about 1492 he entered the university of Oxford, where he was devoted to the classics. Subsequently he studied law at Lincoln's Inn, and became a lecturer on law at Furnival's Inn, while still sedulously cultivating literature. In 1497 he met Erasmus, then on his first visit to England, and the memorable friendship between the two men began. He contemplated becoming a priest, and about 1499 seems to have given lectures on Saint Augustine's "City of God," which possibly contained the germs of his "Utopia." His work at the bar was brilliantly successful; and he entered Parliament, rendering conspicuous service in opposing the exactions of the crown. He made several visits to the Continent, meeting leading scholars and rendering diplomatic service. In 1523, on Wolsey's recommendation, he was elected speaker of the House of Commons. In 1529 he succeeded Wolsey as chancellor. He opposed the new Protestantism, retired from the chancellorship after brief occupancy, and his opposition to Henry VIII. in the matter of Henry's divorce and his relations to the pope cost him his life. His beheadal on Tower Hill (July 6, 1535), for refusing to acknowledge the king's ecclesiastical headship, is one of the blackest of the many black stains upon Henry's memory. More was one of the greatest scholars and thinkers and one of the noblest characters of his time or of all time. "In his household," says Erasmus, "Plato's academy was revived again": only "the house at Chelsea is a veritable school of the Christian religion." A complete account of More's various writings may be found in the article upon him by Sidney Lee, in the Dictionary of National Biography. The "Utopia" was first published in Latin at Louvain in 1516, under an arrangement by Erasmus, and at once became popular. The first French translation appeared in 1550, the first English one in 1551. Dibdin's and Arber's editions both have full and useful notes. The earliest life of More is that by William Roper, his son-in-law: the best modern life is by Bridgett.

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The Sermon on the Mount

AND OTHER PASSAGES FROM WYCLIF'S TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.

MATTHEW, chap. v.

AND Jhesus seynge the peple, went up into an hil; and whanne he was sett, his disciplis camen to him. And he openyde his mouthe, and taughte hem; and seide, Blessid be pore men in spirit; for the kyngdom of hevenes is herun. Blessid ben mylde men: for thei schulen weelde the erthe. Blessid ben thei that mournen: for thei schal be coumfortid. Blessid be thei that hungren and thirsten rigtwisnesse: for thei schal be fulfilled. Blessid ben merciful men: for thei schul gete mercy. Blessid ben thei that ben of clene herte: for thei schulen se god. Blessid ben pesible men: for thei schulen be clepid goddis children. Blessid ben thei that suffren persecucioun for rightwisnesse: for the kyngdom of hevenes is hern. Ye schul be blessid whanne men schul curse you, and schul pursue you: and schul seye al yvel agens you liynge for me. Joie ye and be ye glade: for your meede is plenteous in hevenes: for so thei han pursued also prophetis that weren bifore you. Ye ben salt of the erthe, that if the salt vanishe awey wherynne schal it be saltid? to nothing it is worth over, no but it be cast out, and be defoulid of men. Ye ben light of the world, a citee sett on an hill may not be hid. Ne me teendith not a lanterne and puttith it undir a bushel: but on a candilstik that it give light to alle that ben in the hous. So, schyne your light before men, that thei see youre gode workis, and glorifie your fadir that is in hevenes. Nyle ghe deme that I cam to undo the Lawe or the prophetis, I cam not to undo the lawe but to fuffille. Forsothe I sey to you till hevene and erthe passe, oon lettre, or oon title, schal not passe fro the Lawe til alle thingis be don. Therfore he that brekith oon of these leeste maundementis, and techith thus men, schal be clepid the

Leest in the rewme of hevenes: but he that doth, and techith, schal be clepid greet in the kyngdom of hevenes. And I seye to you that but your rigtwisnesse be more plentuous thanne of Scribis and Farisees, ye schul not entre in to the kyngdom of hevenes. Ye han herd that it was seide to olde men: thou schalt not sle, and he that sleeth, schal be gilty to doom. But I seye to you that ech man that is wroth to his brothir schal be gilty to doom, and he that seith to his brother, fugh, schal be gilty to the counsell; but he that seith, fool, schal be gilty into the fire of helle. Therfore if thou offrist thi gifte at the auter, & there thou bithenkist that thi brother hath somwhat agens thee, leve there thi gifte bifore the auter, and go first to be recounseilid to thi brothir, and thanne thou schalt come and schalt offre thi gifte. Be thou consenting to thin adversarie soone, while thou art in the weye with him, lest peraventure thin adversarie take thee to the domesman, and the domesman take thee to the mynistre, and thou be sent in to prisoun. Treuly I sey to thee thou schalt not go out fro thennes till thou yelde the laste ferthing. Ye han herd that it was seid to olde men thou schalt not do leecherie. But I seye to you that every man that seeth a womman to coveyte hir hath now do leecherie bi hir in his herte. That if thi right yghe sclaundre thee, pull it out, and caste fro thee; for it spedith to thee that oon of thi membris peresche, than that al thi bodi go in to helle. And if thi right hond sclaundre thee kitte him away and caste fro thee, for it spedith to thee that oon of thi membris perische, than that al thi bodi go in to helle. And it hath ben seid, whoevere leveth his wyf, give he to hir a libel of forsaking. But I seye to you that every man that leveth his wyf, out teke cause of fornicacioun makith hir to do leecherie, and he that weddith the forsaken wyf doth avowtrie. Eftsoone ye han herd that it was seid to olde men thou schalt not forswere but thou schalt yeld thin othis to the lord. But I seye to you, that ye swere not for any thing, neither bi hevene for it is the trone of god. Neither bi erthe, for it is the stool of his feet; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the citee of a greet kyng. Neither thou schalt swere bi thin heed, for thou maist not make oon heer whyt ne black. But be your word ghe ghe, nay nay, and that, that is more than these is of yvel. ghe han herd that it hath be seid yghe for yghe, and toth for toth. But I seye to you that ye aghenstonde not an yvel man, but if ony smyte thee in the right cheke, schewe to him also the oother. And to him that stryve with thee in doom, and take away thi coate, leeve thou also to Him thi mantel. And whoever constreynith thee a thousynd pacis: go thou with him other tweyne. Give thou to him that axith of the, and turne thou not awey fro him that wole borowe of thee. ghe han herd that it was seid thou schalt love thi neighbore, and hate thin enemy. But I seye to you, Love ye your enemyes, do ye wel to hem that haten you, and prie ye for hem that pursuen and sclaundren you. That ye be the sones of your fadir that is in hevenes, that makith his sunne to rise upon gode, and yvel men, and reyneth on just men and unjust. For if ye loven him that loven you, what meede shulen ye have? whether pupplicans don not this? And if ghe greeten youre bretheren oonly, what schulen ye do more? ne don not hethene men this? Therefor be ye parfit, as your hevenly fadir is parfit.

Chap. VI.

TAkith heed that ye do not your rigtwisnesse bifore men, to be seyn of hem; ellis ye schul have no meede at your fadir that is in hevenes. Therfore whanne thou doist almes, nyle thou trumpe bifore thee as ypocrites don in synagogis and stretis, that thei be worschipid of men; sothely I sey to you thei han resseyved her meede. But whanne thou doist almes, knowe not thei left hond what thi right hond doith. That thin almes be in hidlis, and thi fadir that seeth in hidlis schal quyte thee. And whanne ye preyen, ye schulen not be as ypocrites that loven to preye stondynge in synagogis, and corneris of streetis, to be seyn of men, treuly I sey to yow thei han resseyved her meede. But whanne thou schalt prie, entre into thi couche, and whanne the dore is schitt, prie thi fadir in hidlis, and thi fadir that seeth in hidlis, schal yelde to thee. But in priyng nyle ye speke myche, as hethene men don for thei gessen that thei ben herd in her myche speche. Therfore nyle ye be maad lyk to hem for your fadir woot what is nede to you, bifore that ye axen him. And thus ye schulen prye. Our fadir that art in hevenys; halewid be thi name. Thi kyngdom come to, be thi wil done in erthe as in hevene. Give to us this day oure breed ovir othir Substaunce. And forgive to us our dettis as we forgiven to oure dettouris. And lede us not into temptacioun: but delyvere us from yvel amen. For if ye forgiven to men her synnes, your hevenly fadir schal forgive to you your trespassis. Sothely if ye forgiven not to men, nether your fadir schal forgive you youre synnes. But whanne ye fasten nyle be ye maad as ypocritis sorowful, for thei defasen hem silf to seme fastynge to men, treuly I seye to you thei han resseyved her meede. But whanne thou fastist anoynte thin heed, and waische thi face: That thou be not seen fastynge to men, but to thi fadir that is in hidlis, and thi fadir that seeth in hidlis schal yelde to thee. Nile ye tresoure to you tresouris in erthe were rust and mought distryeth, and where thefes delven out and stelen. But gadir ye to you tresouris in hevene, where neither rust ne mought distrieth and where thefis deluen not out; ne stelen. For where thi tresour is, there also thin hert is. The lanterne of thi bodi is thin iye, if thin iye be symple, al thi bodi schal be ligtful. But if thin yghe be weyward al thi bodi schal be derk. if thanne the light that is in thee be derknessis, how grete schul thilke derknessis be? No man may serve twey Lordis for either he schal hate the toon and love the tother: either he schal susteyne the toon, and despise the tother: ye moun not serve god and richesse. Therefor I sey to you that be ye not besy to youre lyf, what ye schul ete neither to your bodi, with what ye schul be clothid. whether lyf is not more than mete, and the body more than the cloth? Biholde ye the foulis of the eir, for thei sowen not, neither repen, neither gaderen in to bernes, and your fadir of hevene feedith hem. whether ye ben not more worthi than thei? But who of you thenkynge, may putte to his stature o cubit? And of clothing what ben you bisy? biholde ye the lilies of the feeld hou thei wexen, thei traveilen not neither spynnen. And I sey to you that Salomon in al his glorie was not kevered as oon of these. And if god clothith thus the hey of the feeld, that to dey is, and to morowe is cast in to an ovene, hou myche more you of litil feith? Therfore nyle ye be bisy seiynge, what schul we ete, or what schul we drynk, or with what thing schul we be kevered? Forsothe hethene men seken alle these thingis, and your fadir wot that ye han nede to alle these thingis. Therfore seke ye first the kyngdom of god and his rigtwisnesse: and alle these thingis schul be cast to you. Therfore nyle ye be bisy in to the morrowe for the morrowe schal be bisy to him self; for it suffisith to the daie his owne malice.

CHAP. VII.

NYle ye deme that ghe be not demed. For in what doom ye demen: ye schulen be demed, and in what mesure ye meten: it schal be meten agen to you. But what seest thou a litil mote in the yghe of thi brothir, and seest not a beem in thin owne yghe? Or hou seist thou to thi brother, brother suffre, I schal do out a mote fro thin yghe, and lo a beem is in thin owne yghe? Ypocrite do out first the beem of thin yghe, and thanne thou schalt se to do out the mote of the yghe of thi brother. Nile ye gyve hooly thing to houndis, neither caste ye youre margaritis bifore swyn, lest peraventure thei defoule hem with her feet, and the houndis ben turned, and al to tere you. Axe ye and it schal be gyven to you; seke yee, and yee schulen fynde: knocke ye: and it schal be openid to you. For ech that axith, takith, and he that sekith, fyndith: and it schal be opened to him that knockith. What man of you is, that if his sone axe him breed: whether he wole take him a stoon? Or if he axe fish, whether he wole give him an Eddre? Therfore if ye, whanne ye ben yvel men, kunnen give gode giftis to youre sones: how myche more your fadir that is in hevenes schal give goode thingis to men that axen him? Therfore alle thingis, whatever thingis ye wolen that men do to you, do ye to hem; for this is the Lawe, and the prophetis. Entre ye bi the streit gate, for the gate that ledith to perdicioun is large, and the wey is brood, and thei ben many that entren bi it: Hou streit is the gate and the wey narrowe that ledith to lyf, and ther ben fewe that fynden it. Be ye war of false prophetis, that comen to you in clothingis of scheep, but withynne forth thei ben as Wolves of raveyne. Of her fruytis ye schulen knowe hem; whether men gadren grapis of thornes or figis of brieris? So every good tre makith gode fruytis; but an yvel tree makith yvel fruytis. A good tree may not make yvel fruytis; neither an yvel tree may make gode fruytis. Every tree that makith not good fruyt, schal be kitt doun, and schal be cast in to the fire. Therfore of her fruytis ye schul knowe hem. Not ech man that seith to me, Lord, Lord, schal entre into the kyngdom of hevenes, but he that doth the wille of my fadir that is in hevenes, he schal enter into the kyngdom of hevenes. Many schul sey to me in that dei Lord, Lord, whether we have not prophecied in thi name, and han cast out Feendis in thi name, and han do manie vertues in thi name? And thanne I schal knowleche to hem, that I knewe you never, departe awey fro me ye that worcken wickidnesse. Therfore ech man that heerith these my wordis, and doth hem; schal be maad lyk to a wise man that hath bildid his hous on a stoon: And reyn feldown, and flodis camen, and wyndis blewen, and ruschiden into that hous & it felde not down, for it was foundid on a stoon. And every man that herith these my wordis, and doith hem not: is lyk to a fool that hath bildid his hous on gravel. And reyn cam doun, and flodis camen, and wyndis blewen: and thei hurliden agen that hous and it felde doun, and the fallyng doun thereof was greet. And it was don whanne Jhesus had endid these wordis: the puple wondride on his teachynge. For he taughte hem as he that hadde power: and not as the scribis of hem, and Farisees.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

Exodus, chap. xx.

And the Lord spak alle these wordis, Y am thi Lord God, that ladde thee out of the lond of Egipt, fro the hous of seruage. Thou schalt not haue alien goddis bifore me. Thou schalt not make to thee a grauun ymage, nethir ony licnesse of thing which is in heuene aboue, and which is in erthe bynethe, nether of tho thingis, that ben in watris vndur erthe; thou schalt not herie tho, nether thou schalt worschipe; for Y am thi Lord God, a stronge gelouse louyere; and Y visite the wickidnesse of fadris in to the thridde and the fourthe generacioun of hem that haten me, and Y do mercy in to a thousynde, to hem that louen me, and kepen myn heestis. Thou schalt not take in veyn the name of thi Lord God, for the Lord schal not haue hym giltles, that takith in veyn the name of his Lord God. Haue thou mynde, that thou halowe the dai of the sabat; in sixe daies thou schalt worche and schalt do alle thi werkis; forsothe in the seuenthe day is the sabat of thi Lord God; thou schalt not do ony werk, thou, and thi sone, and thi doughtir, and thi seruaunt, and thin handmaide, thi werk beeste, and the comelyng which is withynne thy ghatis; for in sixe dayes God made heuene and erthe, the see, and alle thingis that ben in tho, and restide in the seuenthe dai; herfor the Lord blesside the dai of the sabat, and halewide it. Onoure thi fadir and thi moder, that thou be long lyuyng on the lond, which thi Lord God schal ghyue to thee. Thou schalt not sle. Thou schalt do no letcherie. Thou schalt do no theft. Thou schalt not speke fals witnessyng aghens thi neighbore. Thou schalt not coueyte the hous of thi neighbore, nether thou schalt desyre his wijf, *7*

not seruaunt, not handmaide, not oxe, not asse, nether alle thingis that ben hise.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION.

Genesis, chap. i.

In the bigynnyng God made of nought heuene and erthe. Forsothe the erthe was idel and voide, and derknessis weren on the face of depthe; and the Spiryt of the Lord was borun on the watris. And God seide, Light be maad, and light was maad. And God seigh the light, that it was good, and he departide the light fro derknessis; and he clepide the light, dai, and the derknessis, nyght. And the euentid and morwetid was maad, o daie. And God seide, The firmament be maad in the myddis of watris, and departe watris fro watris. And God made the firmament, and departide the watris that weren vndur the firmament fro these watris that weren on the firmament; and it was don so. And God clepide the firmament, heuene. And the euentid and morwetid was maad, the secounde dai. Forsothe God seide, The watris, that ben vndur heuene, be gaderid in to o place, and a drie place appere; and it was doon so. And God clepide the drie place, erthe; and he clepide the gadryngis togidere of watris, the sees. And God seigh that it was good; and seide, The erthe brynge forth greene eerbe and makynge seed, and appil tre makynge fruyt bi his kynde, whos seed be in it silf on erthe; and it was doon so. And the erthe broughte forth greene erbe and makynge seed bi his kynde, and a tre makynge fruyt, and ech hauynge seed by his kynde. And God seigh that it was good. And the euentid and morwetid was maad, the thridde dai. Forsothe God seide, Lightis be maad in the firmament of heuene, and departe tho the dai and night; and be tho in to signes, and tymes, and daies, and gheeris; and shyne tho in the firmament of heuene, and lightne tho the erthe; and it was doon so. And God made twei grete lightis, the gretter light that it schulde be bifore to the dai, and the lesse light that it schulde be bifore to the night; and God made sterris; and settide tho in the firmament of heuene, that tho schuldens chyne on erthe, and that tho schulden be bifore to the dai and night, and schulden departe light and derknesse. And God seigh that it was good. And the euentid and the morwetid was maad, the fourthe dai. Also God seide, The watris brynge forth a crepynge beeste of lyuynge soule, and a brid fleynge aboue erthe vndur the firmament of heuene. And God made of nought grete whallis, and ech lyuynge soule and mouable, whiche the watris han brought forth in to her kyndis; and God made of nought ech volatile bi his kynde. And God seigh that it was good; and blesside hem, and seide, Wexe ghe, and be ghe multiplied, and fille the watris of the see, and briddis be multiplied on erthe. And the euentid and the morwetid was maad, the fyuethe dai. And God seide, The erthe brynge forth a lyuynge soul in his kynde, werk beestis, and crepynge beestis, and vnresonable beestis of erthe, bi her kyndis; and it was don so. And God made vnresonable beestis of erthe bi her kyndes, and werk beestis, and ech crepynge beest of erthe in his kynde. And God seigh that it was good; and seide, Make we man to oure ymage and liknesse, and be he souereyn to the fischis of the see, and to the volatilis of heuene, and to vnresonable beestis of erthe, and to ech creature, and to ech crepynge beest, which is moued in erthe. And God made of nought a man to his ymage and liknesse; God made of nought a man, to the ymage of God; God made of nought hem, male and female. And God blesside hem, and seide, Encreesse ghe, and be ghe multiplied, and fille ghe the erthe, and make ghe it suget, and be ghe lordis to fischis of the see, and to volatilis of heuene, and to alle lyuynge beestis that ben moued on erthe. And God seide, Lo! Y haue ghoue to ghou ech eerbe berynge seed on erthe, and alle trees that han in hem silf the seed of her kynde, that tho be in to mete to ghou; and to alle lyuynge beestis of erthe, and to ech brid of heuene, and to alle thingis that ben moued in erthe, and in whiche is a lyuynge soule, that tho haue to ete; and it was doon so. And God seigh alle thingis whiche he made, and tho weren ful goode. And the euentid and morwetid was maad, the sixte day.

THE TWENTY-THIRD PSALM.

The Lord gouerneth me, and no thing schal faile to me; in the place of pasture there he hath set me. He nurschide me on the watir of refreischyng; he conuertide my soule. He ledde me forth on the pathis of rightfulnesse; for his name. For whi though Y schal go in the myddis of schadewe of deeth; Y schal not drede yuels, for thou art with me. Thi gherde and thi staf; tho han coumfortid me. Thou hast maad redi a boord in my sight; aghens hem that troblen me. Thou hast maad fat myn heed with oyle; and my cuppe, fillinge greetli, is ful cleer. And thi merci schal sue me; in alle the daies of my lijf. And that Y dwelle in the hows of the Lord; into the lengthe of daies.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH PSALM.

The erthe and the fulnessether of is the Lordis; the world, and alle that dwellen therynne is the Lordis. For he foundide it on the sees; and made it redi on floodis. Who schal stie in to the hil of the Lord; ethir who schal stonde in the hooli place of hym? The innocent in hondis, and in cleene herte; whiche took not his soule in veyn, nether swoor in gile to his neighbore. This man schal take blessyng of the Lord; and mercy of God his helthe. This is the generacioun of men sekynge hym; of men sekynge the face of God of Jacob. Ghe princes, take vp ghoure ghatis, and ghe euerelastynge ghatis, be reisid; and the kyng of glorie schal entre. Who is this kyng of glorie? The Lord strong and myghti, the Lord myghti in batel. Ghe princes, take vp ghoure ghatis, and ghe euerlastynge ghatis, be reisid; and the kyng of glorie schal entre. Who is this kyng of glorie? The Lord of vertues, he is the kyng of glorie.

ST. PAUL ON CHARITY.

1 Corinthians, Chap. xiii.

If Y speke with tungis of men and of aungels, and Y haue not charite, Y am maad as bras sownynge, or a cymbal tynkynge. And if Y haue prophecie, and knowe alle mysteries, and al kunnynge, and if Y haue al feith, so that Y meue hillis fro her place, and Y haue not charite, Y am nought. And if Y departe alle my goodis in to the metis of pore men, and yf Y bitake my bodi, so that Y brenne, and if Y haue not charite, it profitith to me no thing. Charite is pacient, it is benygne; charite enuyeth not, it doith not wickidli, it is not blowun, it is not coueytouse, it sekith not tho thingis that ben hise owne, it is not stirid to wraththe, it thenkith not yuel, it ioyeth not on wickidnesse, but it ioieth togidere to treuthe; it suffrith alle thingis, it bileueth alle thingis, it hopith alle thingis, it susteyneth alle thingis. Charite fallith neuere doun, whether prophecies schulen be voidid, ethir langagis schulen ceesse, ethir science schal be distried. For a parti we knowun, and a parti we prophecien; but whanne that schal come that is parfit, that thing that is of parti schal be auoidid. Whanne Y was a litil child, Y spak as a litil child, Y vndurstood as a litil child, Y thoughte as a litil child; but whanne Y was maad a man, Y auoidide tho thingis that weren of a litil child. And we seen now bi a myrour in derknesse, but thanne face to face; now Y knowe of parti, but thanne Y schal knowe, as Y am knowun. And now dwellen feith, hope, and charite, these thre; but the most of these is charite.

WYCLIF ON THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH.

As the faith of the Church is contained in the Scriptures, the more these are known in their true meaning, the better; and inasmuch as secular men should assuredly understand the faith they profess, that faith *should be taught to them in whatever language it may be best known to them.* Forasmuch also as the doctrines of our faith are more clearly and exactly expressed in the Scriptures, than they may probably be by priests; seeing, if I may so speak, that many Prelates are too ignorant of Holy Scripture, while others conceal many parts of it; and as the verbal instruction of priests have many other defects, the conclusion is abundantly manifest, that believers should ascertain for themselves what are the true matters of their faith, *by having the Scriptures in a language which all may understand.*

WYCLIF ON PREACHING.

The highest service to which man may attain on earth is to preach the law of God. This duty falls peculiarly to priests, in order that they may produce children of God, and this is the end for which God has wedded the Church. And for this cause Jesus Christ left other works, and occupied himself mostly in preaching, and thus did the Apostles, and on this account God loved them. But now priests are found in taverns and hunting; and playing at their tables, instead of learning God's law and preaching.

Prayer is good, but not so good as preaching; and accordingly, in preaching and also in praying, in the administering of the Sacraments, and the learning of God's law, and the rendering of a good example by purity of life, in these should stand the life of a good priest.

WYCLIF ON THE RIGHT OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT.

We are not careful to explain how it has come to pass, but manifest it is that the Church has erred in this matter; and we claim accordingly to be exempt from its authority in this respect, *and to be left to the guidance of reason and Scripture.*

WYCLIF ON ABSOLUTION AND INDULGENCES.

There is no greater heresy for a man than to believe that he is absolved from sin if he give money, or because a priest layeth his hand on his head and saith, "I absolve thee;" *for thou must be sorrowful in thy heart, else God does not absolve thee.*

It is plain to me that our Prelates in granting indulgences do commonly blaspheme the wisdom of God, pretending in their avarice and folly that they understand what they really know not. They chatter on the subject of grace as if it were a thing to be bought and sold like an ass or an ox; by so doing they learn to make a merchandise of selling pardons, the devil having availed himself of an error in the schools to introduce after this manner heresies in morals.

WYCLIF ON THE AUTHORITY OF PARLIAMENT.

I appeal to the Church of the first thousand years since our Lord's time. I challenge the existing Church to dispute these questions with me. My adversaries reply that the Church has settled the matter, and have, in fact, condemned me beforehand. I cannot expect at their hands anything else than to be silenced, and what is more, according to a new Ordinance, imprisoned. I know what that means. I demand, therefore, that the lay voice be heard. I have appealed to the King against the University; I now appeal to the King and Parliament against the Synod which is about to use the secular arm — the arm of Parliament. If I am to be tried, let me have a fair trial, and argue my case before the world. If that is not to be, I will at least have care that Parliament shall understand the ecclesiastical points at issue, and the use that is to be made of its power.

That very thing is a mark of the corruption of the Church; but the laity are responsible for its purity. They only conserve the endowments and institutions of the clergy under the condition of that purity. And it has now become a personal matter for them; it affects their lives and fortunes. If they see their way to clearing off some of its most open corruptions, the English people, who have by this time the Bible in their hands, will speedily perceive that I am now no heretic, but the truest Churchman in the land.

"In the ende the truth will conquere." — *Wyclif.*

"If the stiff-necked obstinacy of our prelates had not obstructed Wyclif's sublime and exalted spirit, the names of the Bohemians, Huss and Hieronymus, and even of Luther and Calvin, would at this day have been buried in obscurity, and the glory of having reformed our neighbors would have been ours alone." — *Milton.*

"There is in the University Library of Prague a magnificent old Bohemian Cantionale written in the year 1572, and adorned with a number of finely illuminated miniatures. One of the most characteristic of these little works of art stands above a hymn in memory of John Hus, the Reformer. It consists of three medallions rising one above another, in the first of which John Wiclif, the Englishman, is represented striking sparks out of a stone; in the second, Hus, the Bohemian, is setting fire to the coals; while in the third, Luther, the German, is bearing the fierce light of a blazing torch. The trilogy of these miniatures is a fine illustration of the Divine mission of the three great Reformers. John Wiclif, the Englishman, is the true, original spirit, the bringer of a new light, another Prometheus in the realm of spiritual things. Modern research at least testifies in a singular manner to the truth of the miniature, and is bringing about a great change of opinion. Quite recently it has been shown by a German writer that the whole Bohemian movement of the fifteenth century was simply an imitation of the movement that had stirred England — and more particularly Oxford — under the influence of John Wiclif thirty years before. It has been proved conclusively that, as far as doctrine is concerned, Hus borrowed nearly all his reforming ideas from the strong-minded Yorkshireman. In the works of the Oxford professor a rich fountain of new thought had been opened to him, by means of which he became the national and religious leader of a great people, the martyr of a great cause. The whole Husite movement is mere Wiclifism. It should never be forgotten, at least by Englishmen, that those mighty ideas had an Englishman for their parent. Wiclif was the first who, at a period of general helplessness, when the Church, lost in worldliness, was unable to satisfy the spiritual and national aspirations of her adherents, gave utterance to new ideas which seemed fully to replace the fading traditional forms of life and thought; and who thus made England to become the glorious leader of the greatest spiritual movement of modern times. He it was who first dared to face the system of corruption and tyranny which had overspread all Europe, who first showed in his own person how much could be done against a whole world of foes by one single-hearted man, who had made himself the champion of truth. England owes to him her Bible, her present language, the reformation of the Church, her religious and, to a very large degree, her political liberty. With Chaucer, Shakspere, and Milton he is one of the makers of the English language, and his influence in English religious life is unparalleled by any later man. He must be pronounced to be the first, and by far the greatest, Reformer preceding the sixteenth century. He was one of the greatest men England has ever produced, a religious genius whose vestiges are to be found not only in the history of his own country, but in the spiritual history of mankind. Modern research proves that the Reformation neither of Germany, nor of England, nor of Bohemia, was a sudden outburst, but that its origin must be traced back into the past, and from no one can it with greater truth be said to have emanated than from John Wiclif the Englishman. In the spirit of this wonderful man Protestantism arose. By the greatness of his soul, the depth of his religious and national feeling, and the keenness of his intellect, he had become the leader of his people. When in England, towards the end of the Middle Ages, the new power of a national and religious awakening was struggling into existence, it was in Wiclif that it found its truest personification. Of him therefore in a singular manner is true what has been said of Luther, that 'he held the mind and the spirit of his countrymen in his hand, and seemed to be the hero in whom his nation had become incarnate.' "

— *Buddensieg.*

Thomas Fuller, in his old *Church History of Britain* (1655), describes the scattering of Wyclif's ashes, by the decree of the council of Constance — the same council which decreed the martyrdom of Huss — in quaint words which have become famous. The emissaries of the Church, he says, telling the story of their coming to Lutterworth churchyard, "take what was left out of the grave, and burnt them to ashes, and cast them into Swift, a neighboring brook running hard by. Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wickliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispensed all the world over."

The words of Milton, quoted above, do not assert too strongly Wyclif's preëminent, original influence in the work of the Reformation. The passages given from Wyclif's own writings show how distinctly he anticipated Luther's doctrines and methods. He condemned as warmly as Luther the abuses of the doctrine of indulgence, which had become almost as gross in England in his time as under Tetzel in Germany a hundred and fifty years later; he exposed as tirelessly the corruptions of the clergy and the prevailing superstitions and traditionalism; he urged the importance of preaching above all ritualism; he gave the people the Bible in their own language; he emphasized the right and duty of private judgment; he taught the supremacy of the civil power; he trusted the people. That the whole Hussite movement was mere Wyclifism, as Buddensieg asserts, is abundantly shown in the learned and thorough work on *Wiclif and Hus* by Dr. Johann Loserth, translated by Rev. M. J. Evans. Consult the useful note by the translator of this work on the spelling of Wyclif's name — which we find in various places in as many forms as are possible: Wiclif, Wyclif, Wicklif, Wycklif, Wicliffe, Wycliffe, Wickliffe, Wyckliffe, etc.

The best lives of Wyclif are those by Vaughan and the German Lechler. The earliest important life was by Lewis. There are good brief biographies by Pennington, Wilson and others. The admirable work by Professor Montagu Burrows, on *Wiclif's Place in History*, discusses in three lectures the history and present state of the Wyclif literature, Wyclif's relation to Oxford, and his true place as a reformer. The histories of Oxford by Lyte and Brodrick contain valuable chapters on Wyclif's life at the University. Green's chapter on Wyclif, in his history of England, is very interesting. See also the lecture on Wyclif in Herrick's *Some Heretics of Yesterday.* Rudolph Buddensieg's little book, *John Wiclif, Patriot and Reformer*, contains a brief biographical sketch and an interesting selection of passages from Wyclif's writings. Three volumes of the *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, edited by Thomas Arnold, were issued by the Clarendon Press in 1869. More of his works have been published since, and many still remain in MS. at Vienna and elsewhere. Those published consist largely of sermons and theological and political pamphlets.

Wyclif's interest in political and social reform was scarcely less than his interest in religious reform. His denunciations of oppression were so severe and his democratic sympathies so outspoken that he was charged with being the intellectual author of the movement which culminated in the revolt of the peasantry under Wat Tyler a few years before his death. There is some ground for this, although Wyclif himself, like Luther, was a non-resistant. The essay on Wyclif by Thorold Rogers, in his *Historical Gleanings*, is interesting for its discussion of this general subject and its picture of the social condition of England in Wyclif's time. The essay by Edwin De Lisle, *Wyclif begat Henry George*, is worth reading in the connection. More important is the essay on Wyclif's Doctrine of Lordship, in R. L. Poole's *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought.* Lordship or the right to rule, according to Wyclif, was conditioned upon the disposition to rule well. "Dominion is founded in grace," was his word. The ungracious ruler forfeited his rights; only the benevolent king had valid claim to dominion. Similarly he held concerning property, that the right to property was conditioned on its righteous use: the rich man is God's steward, and his rights as steward revert if he does not use his riches for the common weal.

It is interesting to remember that Chaucer was Wyclif's contemporary. He pictures as powerfully as does Wyclif himself the corruptions in the Church against which Wyclif rose to do battle. Many have believed that Chaucer was a Wyclifite and that the picture of the Parson, in the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, if not indeed a portrait of Wyclif himself, is one of the company of "Poor Priests" that Wyclif organized to preach "God's Law" through England. The young people should read this description of the good Parson in Chaucer. The careful student will read the essay, *Chaucer a Wickliffite*, by H. Simon, in the collection of *Essays on Chaucer* published by the Chaucer Society, part iii. "By the side of the repulsive characters of the friars and clergy and their officials," says Mr. Simon, "the Parson of the Prologue appears like a bright figure of sublime beauty. Nobody, perhaps, has read this delicate yet pithy picture without emotion; hundreds of times the Parson has been quoted as the ideal of Christian charity and humility, evangelical piety, unselfish resignation to the high calling of a pastor. It cannot be that Chaucer unintentionally produced this bright image with so dark a background. Involuntarily it occurs to us, as to former critics, that a Wicliffite, perhaps the great reformer himself, sat for the picture; and the more we look at it, the more striking becomes the likeness. This observation is not new; to say nothing of English critics, Pauli says that the likeness of the Parson has decidedly Lollardish traces, and Lechler expressly declares it to be Wicliffe's portrait, though he says, at the same time, that it is not only doubtful but improbable that Chaucer should have sympathized with, or really appreciated, Wicliffe's great ideas of and efforts for reform. Both scholars, however, principally refer to the description in the General Prologue; but the Parson is mentioned also in the Shipman's prologue and in that to the Parson's Tale; and it is exactly in the latter two that we find the most striking proofs of his unquestionably Wicliffite character."

Wyclif's translation of the Bible was the first general or important English translation. The young people are asked to compare the portion printed first here (Matthew, chaps. v, vi, vii) with the same in the common version. Tyndall's translation of the New Testament appeared in 1526; Coverdale's version of the whole Bible in 1535; Matthew's Bible in 1537; the Great Bible, usually called Cranmer's, in 1539; the Geneva Bible in 1557; the Bishops' Bible in 1568; the Douay Bible in 1610; the King James version in 1610.

Wyclif, the great pioneer of the Reformation, died on the last day of the year 1384, which is the fourteenth century date that the young people are asked to remember. The year of his birth, according to Leland, was

1324 just four hundred years before the birth of Kant (b. 1724), the great pioneer of modern thought. William of Wykeham was born in the same year as Wyclif. Chaucer was born a few years later, 1340, and died in 1400, the year that Guttenberg, the inventor of printing, was born. The year of Chaucer's birth was the year before Petrarch was crowned with the laurel wreath in the Capitol at Rome. Rienzi, "the last of the tribunes," was a personal friend of Petrarch, who supported him when he became tribune, in 1347. This was the year after Edward III and the Black Prince won the battle of Crecy, and just after Wyclif had begun his Oxford life. It will be remembered that Edward instituted the Order of the Garter soon after the battle of Crecy. The battle of Agincourt came thirty years after Wyclif's death, in the same year, 1415, that Huss, the great preacher of Wyclif's doctrines in Bohemia, was burnt at Constance. Jerome of Prague suffered the next year after Huss — both Jerome and Huss having been born in Wyclif's lifetime. Thomas à Kempis was born four years before Wyclif died. Tauler, the German mystic, died while Wyclif was teaching at Oxford. Wyclif's lifetime was the time of Jacob and Philip van Artevelde at Ghent, the time when the universities of Prague and Cracow were founded, when the Kremlin was founded at Moscow and the Bastile at Paris, the time of the terrible plague, the "Black Death," in Europe, the time of the first appearance of Halley's comet, the time of Douglas and Percy (Hotspur) and of Timur (Tamerlane), the time of the rising of the peasantry (the *Jacquerie*) in France. The revolt of the English peasantry under Wat the Tyler and Jack Straw occurred three years before Wyclif's death. Arnold of Winkelried fell at Sempach two years after Wyclif's death; and Joan of Arc was born about the time that Wyclif's remains, thirty years after his death, were dug up, burnt and thrown into the Swift. When Joan was burnt at Rouen, we are near the time of the birth of Columbus.

Since the above notes were written to accompany this leaflet, as first prepared in connection with the Old South lectures for young people on "The Story of the Centuries," in 1888, considerable important Wyclif literature has appeared in England. Several volumes have been added to the Latin edition of his works. Lewis Sergeant's "John Wyclif, Last of the Schoolmen and First of the English Reformers" is a critical and admirable biography; and George M. Trevelyan's "England in the Age of Wycliffe" is a careful and important social study. F. D. Matthews's contributions to the Wyclif literature are of high value. The thorough article on Wyclif in the Dictionary of National Biography is by Rev. Hastings Rashdall. Attention is called to the Old South Leaflet (No. 57) upon the English Bible, with specimens of the different translations and historical notes upon them. There is a complete critical edition of Wyclif's Bible in four volumes, published at Oxford in 1850, edited by Forshall and Madden, with a valuable historical introduction. [1902.]

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